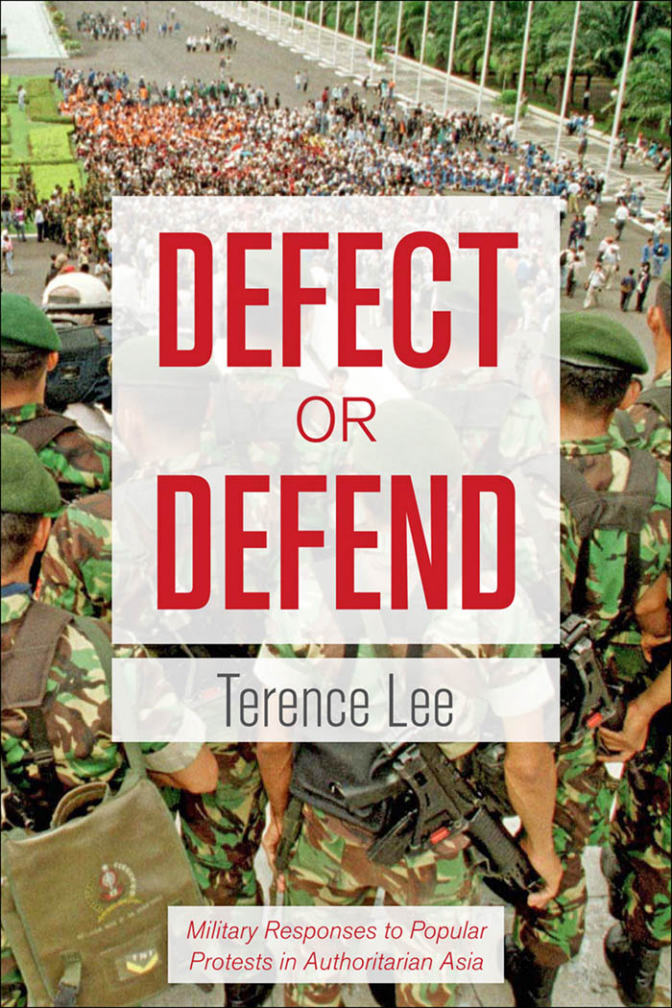
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Terence Lee
Military Responses to Popular Protests in Authoritarian Asia

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Defect or Defend

Military Responses to Popular Protests in Authoritarian Asia

Terence Lee

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Acknowledgments

This book examines the response of the armed forces of authoritarian regimes when they are confronted with popular unrest. Will they defect and join the protestors to bring down the autocratic regime? Or do they shoot to defend dictatorial rule? This study, which grew out of my doctoral dissertation at the University of Washington–Seattle, was inspired by two personal experiences some years before graduate school.

In early 1989, about three years after the fall of Ferdinand Marcos in the Philippines, I spent a month as an exchange student at Manila's La Salle Green Hills High School. Part of the program was a half-day tour and talk at the impressive dome-shaped St. Benilde gymnasium on the campus grounds. In 1986, the gymnasium was used by NAMFREL (National Citizens Movement for Free Elections) to conduct a parallel count of the snap presidential elections, which it called "Operation Quick Count." La Salle Green Hills had preserved the large old Masonite tally board with the 1986 vote counts written in white acrylic paint. Then, only seventeen years of age, I was struck by the personal accounts of the tour guides, who were then among the NAMFREL volunteers at the gymnasium tabulating the votes. Their courage in the midst of possible reprisals was decisive in telling the world Marcos had stolen the elections and Corazon Aquino had won.

In early 1998, I was in Yogyakarta, Indonesia, on a language-immersion program. It was already some months into the worst economic crisis Indonesia had ever experienced. The value of the Indonesian rupiah had plummeted almost fivefold against the US dollar by the time I arrived, and sporadic student demonstrations had begun to pop up around the Gadjah Mada University. The Indonesian armed forces were trying to contain the protests to the campus compound with barbed wire and the strategic positioning of armored personnel

carriers. If the students took their protest off campus, would the military forcibly stop the demonstrators and carry out a Tiananmen-style crackdown, I wondered. Fearing I might be caught in the crossfire, I ended my language program early. Within a month after my return to Singapore, Suharto resigned from the presidency after the armed forces had decided not to use force against the demonstrations, not just in Yogyakarta but also in the capital city of Jakarta.

These personal experiences would have been forgotten and I would have ended up writing a very different dissertation if not for the support and intellectual stewardship of my mentor at the University of Washington, Elizabeth Kier. She reminded me early in my academic career that my dissertation (the first book) defines you. This book project would not have seen the light of day if not for Beth's advice to write a dissertation that excited me and would see me through the early phase of my academic career.

The other members of my dissertation committee, Mary Callahan, Stephen Hanson, and Jonathan Mercer, have likewise been pivotal in my journey as a scholar. The book would not have been possible without their guidance and support in graduate school. They were advisors who were demanding but patient and fair.

My undergraduate mentors, Don Emmerson and Paul Hutchcroft, nurtured my interest in the politics of Southeast Asia. They taught me the importance of history and the local context. The richness of the empirical chapters in this book reflects their influence in my formative years at the University of Wisconsin–Madison. Yuen Foong Khong, whom I am honored now to call a friend, encouraged my early interest in theory and methodological rigor when I was a master's student. I owe an intellectual debt to all of them.

Scholarly research is often solitary, but this book would not have been possible without the generosity of a wide network of colleagues, friends, and institutions, near and further afield. I am grateful to the United States Institute of Peace's Peace Scholar Dissertation Fellowship Program. The bulk of the field research in the empirical chapters was possible only because of their generous financial support.

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I am also grateful for NUS's institutional support. A generous start-up grant allowed me to do additional field research and provided financial support for talks at the Australian National University, the University of Chicago, Northern Illinois University, Stanford University, and the University of Washington, where I got excellent feedback. A book grant in the final stages of the write-up made possible the completion of this book.

My friends John Buchanan, Turan Kayaoglu, Yuko Kawato, Jason Scheideman, Matt Walton, and Jeffrey Wolf at the University of Washington offered insightful critiques on early versions of the manuscript. I had two "fairy godparents" while in Seattle—Laurie Sears and the late Dan Lev. Though not on my dissertation committee, Laurie took an interest in what I did and made me feel at home within the larger community of scholars and students working on Southeast Asia. Dan Lev, who had retired when I arrived at the University of Washington, offered sagacious advice on the study of Indonesian politics. I will deeply cherish Dan's warmth and support in my early years of graduate school.

I doubt this book would have turned out the way it did without my year as a John M. Olin National Security Fellow at Harvard University. Particular thanks are due to Stephen Peter Rosen for believing in this project and offering me the opportunity to avail myself of Harvard's wealth of resources. My colleagues at Olin gave valuable feedback on a very nascent version of the book's theoretical argument, which appeared in article form in *Comparative Political Studies*. I thank Dima Adamsky, Lindsay Cohn, David Cunningham, Kathleen Gallagher Cunningham, Andy Kennedy, Adria Lawrence, Jeffrey Mankoff, Assaf Moghadam, and Jessica Stanton. This book has been improved through conversations and suggestions from several scholars, particularly when this project was in its infancy. I thank Deborah Avant, Stephen Biddle, Kent Eaton,

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I am grateful to Suzanne Flinchbaugh for taking up the project after Henry's passing. Suzanne was honest, encouraging, and patient from start to finish. Thank you for trusting in my book project. The anonymous reviewer offered engaged and constructive critiques that sharpened the book's theoretical argument as well as its empirical discussion greatly. Catherine Goldstead expertly shepherded the book through its final stages. Jack Rummel caught many of my mistakes in the manuscript and skillfully improved my prose. Thanks are due too to Becky Hornyak for compiling the index.

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out my asking. My brother, Damian, chipped in whenever he could when we were graduate students in Seattle. Their constant support made the completion of this project more bearable and certainly less stressful, especially in its final stages.

I dedicate this book to the ones who supported me the most but also suffered the longest. My wife, Josephine, and my sons, Timothy and James, endured frequent absences while I was doing fieldwork and attending conferences, not to mention enduring crazy work schedules and my short temper. I am deeply appreciative of their sacrifice, particularly so on the part of Josephine, who took time off from work to be in Seattle with Timothy and who supported the family financially in my first few years of graduate school.

Timothy (now twelve years of age) was there at the beginning, when the ideas for this book were gestating in Seattle. James (age seven) arrived a little later and saw what daddy did at home when he was not in the office. As a father and husband, juggling professional and familial responsibilities, I am appreciative my loved ones understood in their own way the magnitude of this endeavor. I am forever in their debt.

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CHAPTER ONE

The Military and People Power Revolts

In December 2010, the self-immolation of twenty-seven-year-old Mohamed Bouazizi in Tunisia sparked a chain of events that rocked the very core of political life in the Middle East and North Africa. The fiery death of this street vendor led to massive protests across Tunisia and eventually culminated with the demise of the more than two-decade-long rule of President Zine el-Abidine Ben Ali. The Tunisian revolt subsequently inspired other mass demonstrations calling for an end to authoritarian rule in Algeria, Bahrain, Egypt, Jordan, Libya, Syria, and Yemen. In February 2011, Egypt succumbed to this wave of popular revolts when President Hosni Mubarak stepped down from office. Six months later, the regime of Libya's Muammar Gaddafi collapsed after a NATO-led military intervention assisted a popular uprising that had threatened to degenerate into a prolonged civil war.

When unarmed civilians engage in a standoff with the military to bring down authoritarian rule, these images educe strong emotions. If these popular demonstrations succeed, they become emblematic of the triumph of the human spirit. The popular revolts in Egypt and Tunisia, the Arab Spring of 2011, exemplify such successful struggles. However, where there are triumphant stories of the masses fending off entrenched autocratic regimes, there are also tales of dark and bloody defeats. Mass mobilizations against authoritarian rule failed when armed forces have fired on unarmed protestors. The brutal suppression of mass demonstrations against Bahrain's King Hamad and his Sunni royal family by the military and the Syrian military's continued bloody crackdown of a rebellion against Bashar al-Assad are two stark contrasts to the successes of Egypt and Tunisia. In other parts of the world such as Asia, previous mass revolts against dictatorial rule have also failed. The South Korean military violently put down pro-democracy protests in the city of Gwangju in May 1980, leading

to some two hundred deaths. Similar scenes were also seen in August 1988, when hundreds of protestors were killed in Rangoon after the Burmese military opened fire on street demonstrations calling for more democracy in the country. A year later, in June 1989, in an incident that garnered widespread international attention, protests calling for greater democracy in Tiananmen Square were brutally crushed by China's People's Liberation Army.

The main factor determining the success or failure of mass revolts is the military's response. The armed forces' defections and their decisions to side with the protestors in Egypt and Tunisia were crucial in the success of both uprisings. In contrast, the armed forces' suppression of the demonstrations in Bahrain and Syria propped up dictatorial rule. Militaries possess coercive resources that can countermand, if not suppress outright, any popular uprising against authoritarian rule. Unlike any other group in society, the military is probably the only organ of the state that can enforce the will of an authoritarian regime by moving tanks into the streets and also use these tools of violence—the ultimate veto by force—to end clamoring for political liberalization.[1]

If participants of mass demonstrations wish to avoid a bloodbath in their struggle against autocratic rule, the armed forces' involvement or tolerance is crucial. As Erica Chenoweth and Maria Stephan note in their 2008 study on popular uprisings, when militaries defect, "People Power" revolts are forty-six times more likely to usher in a regime change.[2]

Conversely, the military's forceful suppression of mass demonstrations can be effective in upholding authoritarian rule in the short term. Authoritarian incumbents can survive popular mobilizations if the military (or other security agencies) employ concerted and targeted repressive responses to mass protests. Doing so often shows the demonstrators that the state is still effective. Repression that is diffused and erratic can undermine perception of the regime's resilience and effectiveness. These perceptions of regime vulnerability could then spur even more protests and eventually bring the regime down.[3] For example, it has been argued that the overwhelming force used against the protestors in Tiananmen Square in 1989 broke palpable resistance to Chinese communist rule for at least a decade.[4] Autocrats, especially in neopatrimonial forms of authoritarian regimes, can survive even longer with repression if they are not constrained by any external patron.[5]

Any pathway to exit authoritarian rule, as most popular revolts endeavor to do, cannot ignore the military if it is to be successful. D. E. H. Russell reminded us more than three decades ago that the military's defection is the single most

important determinant of victory in rebellion and for this reason demands further investigation.[6] In no uncertain terms, the armed forces, or a significant portion of it, must become members of a "dissenting alliance," if not by commission then at least by omission.[7] Most authoritarian regimes have collapsed without support from the military. Military defection is important because its impact is both real and psychological, affecting both the demonstrators and authoritarian incumbents. The defection of the military deprives the regime of the means for ensuring its survival and increases the prospect that the armed forces might turn their guns on their former political masters. For those opposing the authoritarian regime, the defection of the military is a material, psychological, and moral victory, which furthers demands on the authoritarian regime, emboldens protestors, and encourages a bandwagon effect in which those previously wary of extending their support to the mass demonstrations can now do so.[8]

Machiavelli observes that because of the existence of a sizable standing army in the Roman Empire, governments needed to "satisfy the soldiers more than the common people" as soldiers "could do more than the common people."[9] Today, the armed forces are central in the genesis and maintenance of authoritarian rule. For dictatorial rule to be durable, soldiers, more importantly the officer corps, have to be "satisfied" or "rendered prudentially fearful" not only before opponents of the incumbent regime but also before other actual supporters.[10] Our history books have taught us that autocrats use an array of "carrots and sticks," ranging from the provision of material incentives to the use of intelligence agencies, to monitor and prevent dissent to ensure the military remains acquiescent.

That there is empirical variation in the armed forces' response to mass uprisings against authoritarian rule, even outside the Middle East and North Africa, warrants further investigation. It raises an important question for our understanding of contentious politics and the collapse of authoritarianism: Why do certain militaries brutally suppress popular demonstrations while others support political liberalization by backing such mass movements?

The Argument

This book explains how and under what conditions armed forces will defect from autocratic rule when popular protests erupt. Its emphasis is on civil-military relations in authoritarian regimes—the interactions between the military, the autocratic leadership, and its ruling coalition.[11] My interest in civil-military

interactions is unusual, as earlier studies of elite defection from authoritarian rule focused largely on the dynamics within the civilian components of the dictatorial regime or on the interaction between political incumbents and civil society. The military's role, its defection, and how it contributes to the process of authoritarian collapse are often omitted.

To understand the military's likely response when autocratic regimes come under pressure from mass protests, I draw from the experience of Asia and examine four instances of popular resistance. The first two led to the collapse of authoritarian rule: the People Power revolution of 1986 where massive demonstrations on Epifanio de los Santos Avenue ended President Ferdinand Marcos's more than two decade rule in the Philippines, while the student protests in Jakarta ended Indonesia President Haji Mohammad Suharto's New Order regime in 1998. I also examine two instances where authoritarian rule did not end despite mass protests: the June 1989 crackdown in China's Tiananmen Square and the August 2007 suppression of Buddhist monks in Burma. Despite the variation in outcomes, the commonality is that the armed forces played a central role when they sided with the protesters against authoritarian rule or used their coercive capability to suppress the mass demonstrations to safeguard the dictatorships.

The cases of 1986 Philippines and 1998 Indonesia revealed important antecedent conditions that led to the two armed forces' refusal to fire on popular protests and their subsequent defection from authoritarian rule. In both events, the crucial variable was increasing personalism within the armed forces. Personalism in the military led to growing schisms among the senior members of the officer corps. When popular demonstrations emerged, personalism created apt conditions for the defection of disaffected senior officers seeking to improve their political positions. A crucial subsequent step leading to the eventual defection of the military was a pact between civilian regime stalwarts who had also become disillusioned with personalistic dictatorial rule, the disgruntled erstwhile senior officers, and key segments of the domestic opposition. In the Philippines, the withdrawal of U.S. support for the Marcos regime was also important in speeding up the military's defection. On the other hand, nonpersonalistic authoritarian rule created favorable conditions for military loyalty and explains why the Burmese and Chinese armed forces, through their use of force against popular demonstrations, protected the authoritarian governments.

My findings highlight the importance of authoritarian institutions. Different forms of authoritarian rule lead to autocratic regime stability or fragility

when popular protests surfaced. Authoritarian regimes draw on different segments of society for political support, have different procedures for making decisions, differ in the ways they handle leaders and succession, and respond to society and political opponents in markedly different ways.[12] To understand the likelihood of a military defection, we need to be conscious of this diversity of political contestation within authoritarian regimes. Institutions are significant in this regard as they shape these interactions within the regime—between ruling elite, the armed forces, and society.[13]

From Asia's experience, we observe that a military's probable response to mass demonstrations can be traced back to the kind of institutions underpinning the regime. I develop two typologies to illustrate the forms of authoritarian institutions, explain how they operate, and delve into the consequences each has on military actions when faced with popular protests.

The first depicts situations where authoritarian institutions are highly personalistic. In Indonesia and the Philippines, highly personalistic dictatorial rule led to disaffection within the armed forces and created favorable conditions for military defections when mass protests erupted. Whether the entire military organization refrained from shooting and sided instead the popular movements depended on a successful pact between disgruntled portions of the senior officer corps, important segments of the domestic opposition, and other disaffected stalwarts of the regime. Pacts created a political alternative that bettered the status quo for all parties. With such a concord, the armed forces defected in its entirety, mass demonstrations persisted, and dictators were forced from office. In other words, personalism increases the likelihood that the armed forces will side with mass demonstrations. Personalistic forms of authoritarianism foster a zero-sum, nonaccommodative pattern of competition over patronage and spoils within the upper echelon of the armed forces, which creates winners and losers. Losers in this cutthroat intramilitary contestation have few routes for redress. These disaffected military officers therefore seek opportunities to better their status quo. The emergence of antiregime mass demonstrations presents an opportunity to do so.

The second typology describes "rule by sharing," or nonpersonalistic forms of authoritarian rule. In this second form, the regime is organized around power-sharing institutions that mitigate personalism, in which the dictator and his ruling elite credibly commit to joint rule. These are regimes where decision making in the polity is decided by juntas, ruling councils, legislatures, and political parties. In such nonpersonalistic forms of autocratic rule, military defection

is unlikely to occur and armed forces in such situations are more likely to brutally put down popular demonstrations and dictators are more likely to remain in office.

Learning about Military Defection from Asia

Asia's experience can be a useful heuristic to explain the variance in outcomes in the recent North African and Middle East uprisings for several reasons. First, Asia was at the forefront of the third wave of democratization from below. The term *People Power* originated in 1986 from the Philippine protest movement that overthrew President Ferdinand Marcos and subsequently became the inspiration for other mass revolts, including the revolutions in Eastern Europe that brought down communist rule, and other dictatorships around the world.[14] The late Czech President Vaclav Havel famously remarked in a visit to the Philippines in 1995 that "your peaceful People Power Revolution was an inspiration to us for our own revolution."[15]

Second, Asia is the only region in the world outside of Europe where democracies have emerged following popular revolts, for instance, the Philippines, South Korea, and Indonesia. It would be difficult to consider the efficacy of mass protests and, more importantly, the military's role in Eastern Europe as these countries could have been influenced by the consolidated democracies in central Europe.[16] Asia offers valuable insights into how military defection can occur and how mass movements can succeed in breaking down authoritarian rule in a part of the world without a strong liberal political tradition.[17]

Finally, there are strong methodological reasons to focus on popular revolts in Asia. The most compelling is the region's wide variation in regimes that had to contend with mass uprisings.[18] These include single party authoritarian regimes (China in 1989), military regimes (South Korea in the 1980s, Thailand in the 1970s, and Burma) and personalistic dictatorships (Suharto's Indonesia and Marcos's Philippines). In terms of outcomes of these mass revolts, Asia has a continuum ranging from consolidated democracies (South Korea), to nascent democracies (Indonesia, the Philippines, and Thailand), and durable autocratic regimes (Burma).

In other parts of the world, where Huntington's famed Third Wave has become such a strong metaphor to explain why transitions and subsequently democratization (e.g., Latin America, Southern, and Eastern Europe) have unfolded, it has also become difficult to figure out whether domestic, regional, or

international factors actually explain the regionwide phenomena. However, for Asia, a region exhibiting such diversity in region types and outcomes, it is easier, although not unproblematic, to control for confounding regional and international factors and to focus instead on the variation in domestic factors. Asia provides immense opportunities to improve our understanding of military defection and autocratic breakdown—in this case, those involving mass protests—without the drawbacks of conducting cross-regional research. As has been pointed out in other places, the major problem of conducting analysis in wide-ranging cases across regions is that while the cases vary in outcome, researchers may end up comparing cases that vary too greatly in potential causes as well. While adding more cases from different regions increases inferential leverage by increasing the degrees of freedom, a loss of inferential leverage could also occur if the cases expand into new domains where prior conceptualizations are inappropriate, measurement procedures are invalid, or causal homogeneity lacking.[19] As Valerie Bunce advocates in her defense of intraregional research, "The most illuminating comparisons are those that restrain the universe of causes while expanding the range of results."[20]

The book's approach centers on a deductive argument that is supported by the controlled comparison of "most similar cases." This case research strategy is akin to what Charles Ragin calls "casing," in which I define the topic of interest, specify the hypothesis that explains the outcome, and give the set of cases that offer relevant information vis-à-vis the hypothesis.[21] I examine two instances of military defection from authoritarian rule (the 1986 People Power Revolt in the Philippines and the May 1998 student demonstrations in Indonesia) and another two where the armed forces remained loyal to dictatorial regimes (the 1989 People's Liberation Army crackdown on the Tiananmen protests and the August 2007 suppression of the Buddhist monks' demonstrations in Burma). I offer the personalism–power-sharing argument to expound on the variation in military responses.

The four case studies are also similar in protest size, issue area, location, and protestor profile—the protests numbered at least in the tens of thousands; the main issue was regime change; they occurred in the capital cities; and they involved students and members of the middle class. These commonalities facilitate my study as I can hold other things constant and bring to the foreground the variation in authoritarian institutions to explain the military's response.

Working with only four cases, there are shortcomings. First, I recognize that the study is an intraregional, small-*n* analysis that lacks sufficient insight

into cases of authoritarian transitions in other parts of the world. Second, because this is a small-*n* intraregional study, the analysis suffers from the "too many variables, too few cases" problem.[22]

In the chapters ahead, I remedy these shortcomings with process tracing. Inference through process tracing is achieved by identifying the intervening causal processes—the causal chain and mechanisms—between independent variables and the outcome of the dependent variable.[23] Causation is not established through small-*n* comparison alone but also through the uncovering of a hypothesized causal mechanism within the case studies under scrutiny.[24] In the book, causality is attained through detailed empirical study of contrasting cases that vary along the type of authoritarian institutions (personalistic versus nonpersonalistic).

Process tracing is an indispensable tool to establish causality because it generates numerous observations within a case and also because these observations must be linked in particular ways to constitute an explanation of the case. In process tracing, if the intervening variables are truly part of the causal process, they will be connected in a specific way such that the problem of indeterminacy, often referred to as the degrees-of-freedom problem in case study research, is reduced.

Process tracing is different from methods based on covariation of cases, as the explanations are contingent on all intervening steps in a case study unfolding in a specific manner as predicted by a hypothesis.[25] The main advantage is that process tracing captures "the unfolding of social action over time in a manner sensitive to the order in which events occur. By making the theories that underpin our narratives more explicit, we avoid the danger of burying our explanatory principles in engaging stories. By comparing sequences, we can determine whether there are typical sequences across [cases] . . . and . . . explore the causes and consequences of different sequence patterns."[26]

As a small-*n* intraregional study, the book is inevitably an exercise in theory generation rather than theory testing. Regrettably, as John Gerring notes, the social sciences have privileged the theory testing, or "refutations," genre of work. Theory generation, or the "conjectural" element of social science, is usually dismissed as "guesswork, inspiration, or luck" and hence regarded as regarded less important. Nevertheless many works in the social sciences, including the ones acknowledged as classics, began with the introduction of a new idea or a new perspective that was then subjected to more rigorous and refutable testing. It is often difficult to devise a program of falsification the first

time a new theory is proposed. Path-breaking research is almost always protean. Therefore while the world of social science research may be divided according to its predominant goal—either hypothesis *generating* or hypothesis *testing*—both moments of research, the "light bulb" moment and skeptical moment, are essential to the scholarly endeavor.[27]

In short, small-*n* case oriented research has its advantages. The study before you combines deductive inference and solid empirical illustration through careful tracing of the causal processes in the case studies to shed light on a largely unexplored set of questions about the relationship among authoritarian regimes, their militaries, and society in Asia. As Charles Ragin suggests about using small-*n* case research, such an approach is more valuable than large cross-case studies in explaining particular outcomes, especially if the phenomenon is being encountered for the first time or considered in a fundamentally new way.[28] In addition, with my emphasis on process tracing, I am able to present my empirical evidence in the form of a story that has a beginning and an end. These case studies will be more persuasive than large-*n* studies, which often start or end at odd moments.[29] This emphasis on causal processes is thus akin to a "smoking gun"—it gives insight into causal mechanisms that are essential to causal assessment and offers a strong alternative to co-relation-based methods of causal inference.[30]

Studying People Power Revolts and the Military's Role

Autocratic rule can unravel through a myriad of circumstances. A range of events, many highly contingent and exogenous, could spark an opening that leads to the eventual collapse of an authoritarian regime. These include labor unrest, economic crises, or international events such as wars.[31] This study only examines challenges to, and if successful, the collapse of, authoritarian rule only in times of mass urban mobilization, which is now more popularly known as People Power revolts. Such situations emerge when tens to hundreds of thousands of people from cross-class backgrounds take part in largely peaceful demonstrations, often in the capital cities, and call for some form of political liberalization. These demonstrations could emerge with the assistance of organized civil society groups or more spontaneously without cohesive organizations.[32]

Studying authoritarian breakdowns initiated or sustained by mass demonstrations are important for two reasons. First, popular protests were a key factor in the vast majority of authoritarian transitions since the 1970s. In the past three decades, in more than 70 percent of the instances where dictatorships fell (or

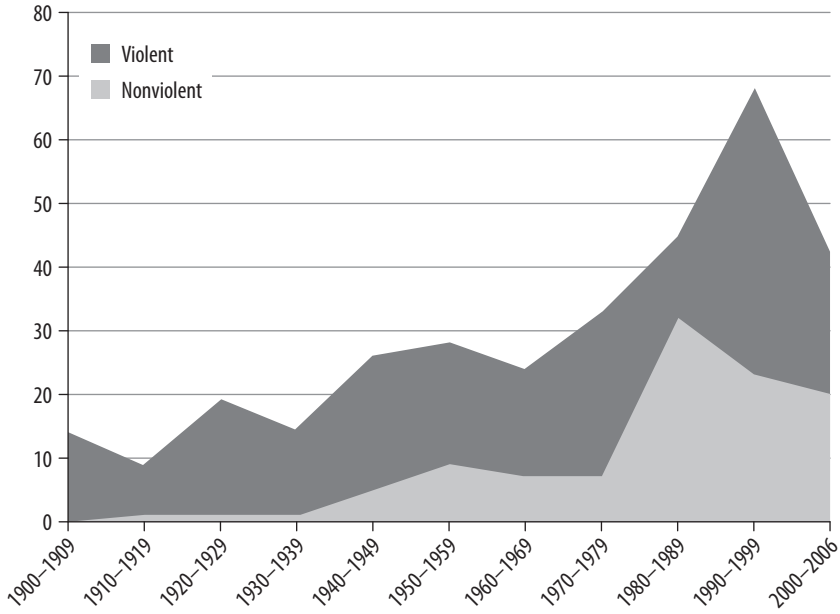

Figure 1.1. Frequency of violent and nonviolent mass uprisings

where new states arose from the disintegration of multinational states), civic resistance was a key strategy.[33] Erica Chenoweth and Maria Stephan's 2008 findings offer further evidence of the popularity of People Power revolts. In their analysis of 323 cases of popular uprisings since the 1900s, they find there have been more than 100 major instances of peaceful popular revolts, of which the frequency has increased over time (fig. 1.1).[34]

Not only have these popular resistance movements increased, but they have also been more effective in forcing political change. Freedom House noted that in the last three decades, dozens of autocratic regimes have fallen through nonviolent civic resistance. Freedom House's 2005 report pointed out that in fifty out of the sixty-seven transitions that have occurred from 1972 to 2005, mass uprisings played an important role in ushering the liberalization process.[35] Similarly, Chenoweth and Stephan found that between 1900 and 2006, peaceful mass revolts were nearly twice as successful as campaigns that involved armed struggles in bringing about political change (fig. 1.2 and 1.3).[36] This trend suggests that the traditional approaches to understanding the collapse of autocratic rule need to be reevaluated to incorporate this force.[37]

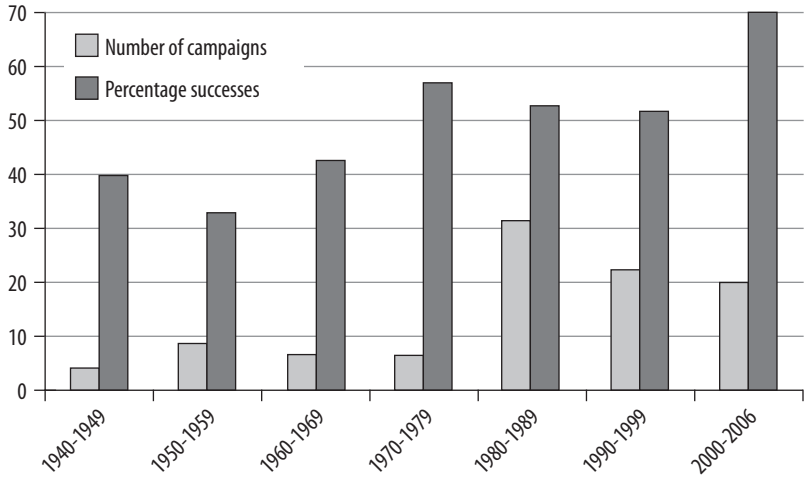

Figure 1.2. Number of nonviolent mass uprisings and percentages of success

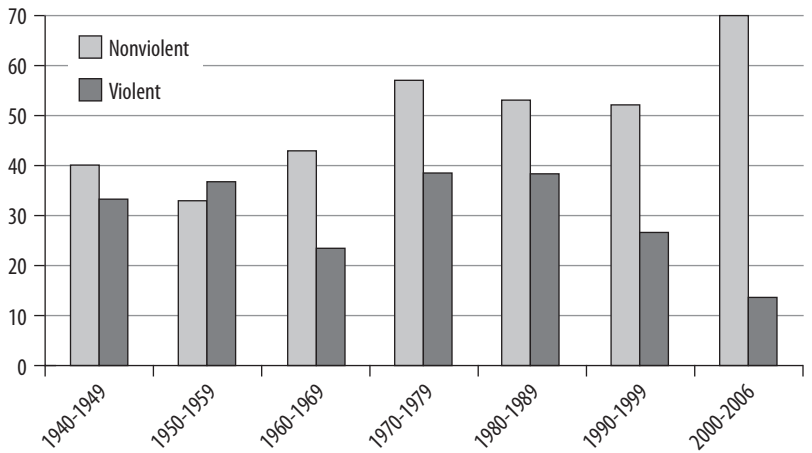

Figure 1.3. Success rates by decades

Second, mass urban protests should not be considered merely as rebellions.[38] Such popular uprisings can create revolutionary situations and eventually lead to revolutionary outcomes.[39] Our understanding of revolutions, which is based largely on Theda Skocpol's definition of it as "rapid, basic transformations of a society's state and class structures . . . accompanied and in part carried through by class-based revolts from below," is dated.[40] Barrington Moore's definition, like Skocpol's understanding of revolution, was premised largely

on the understanding and causes of a handful of great revolutions in Europe and Asia (British, 1640; American, 1776; French, 1789; Russian, 1917; and Chinese, 1949). From the 1970s to the 1990s, however, the world saw a host of regime changes that challenged this notion of a class-based revolution. For example, in Iran and Nicaragua in 1979, and in the Philippines in 1986, cross-class coalitions toppled dictatorships that had enjoyed long-standing support from the world's leading superpower. A decade later in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, socialist and totalitarian states that were ostensibly impervious to class conflict also collapsed amid popular protests and mass strikes.

The experience of the past three decades shows that popular uprisings can be considered *die wende* (a turning point) as they play central roles in the overthrow of authoritarian rule.[41] As such, Jack Goldstone argues that our understanding of contemporary revolutions must include the efforts to force political change through noninstitutionalized channels such as mass boycotts, demonstrations, and strikes. A broader and more contemporary way to think of a revolution, incorporating non-class-based civic participation, would be to define a revolution as an effort to transform the political institutions and the justifications for political authority in a society, accompanied by formal or informal mass mobilization and noninstitutionalized actions that undermine existing authorities or seek to change prior political, social, or economic relationships.[42] Popular mobilization is the key to revolutionary outcomes.

Since the 1980s, much of the literature on authoritarian breakdown, particularly the ones emphasizing the importance of strategic choice among authoritarian elites, has downplayed the role of popular mobilization.[43] The transitions literature, as this body of work has come to be known, draws largely from the seminal work of Guillermo O'Donnell and Philippe Schmitter and has set in place a framework that is implicitly or explicitly followed in subsequent studies. O'Donnell and Schmitter's framework views the transition process as unfolding in three stages. The first stage is marked by an internal split within the authoritarian regime, when it fissures into camps over questions of legitimation, consolidation, and the institutionalization of authoritarian rule. In the second stage, the authoritarian incumbents initiate a liberalization process when the relevant group proposing such a solution to the legitimization-consolidation problem gains the upper hand. While the liberalization process is understood as a loosening of repression and not an actual long-term commitment toward democratization, it puts the regime on a slippery slope—it starts a process that opens up some space for the opposition that could then lead to a dynamic

where political change occurs faster and further than the incumbents had originally envisaged. This process of liberalization is then seen as presenting some opportunities for protest movements to enter into the political arena. In the words of O'Donnell and Schmitter:

> In some cases and at particular moments of the transition, many of these diverse layers of society may come together to form what we choose to call the "popular upsurge." Trade unions, grass-roots movements, religious groups, intellectuals, artists, clergymen, defenders of human rights, and professional associations all support each other's efforts toward democratization and coalesce into a greater whole which identifies itself as "the people." . . . This emerging front exerts strong pressures to expand the limits of mere liberalization and partial democratization.[44]

Popular demonstrations are typically seen as a relatively brief stage and are quickly superseded by the next phase, which is the strategic game in which elites within the regime "negotiate" or "bargain" with moderate opposition figures. Mass action is generally considered important insofar as it affects the political resources and strategies of the leaders who are involved in the bargaining game.[45] Indeed, O'Donnell and Schmitter view these protests as more of a symptom than a cause of the process of political liberalization, considering such grassroots mobilization "ephemeral."[46] They add:

> Selective repression, manipulation, and cooptation by those still in control of the state apparatus, the fatigue induced by frequent demonstrations and "street theater," the internal conflicts that are bound to emerge over choices about procedures and substantive policies, a sense of ethical disillusionment with the "realistic" compromises imposed by pact-making and/or by the emergence of oligarchic leadership within its component groups are all factors leading toward the dissolution of the upsurge.[47]

While O'Donnell and Schmitter recognize that in certain cases these initial splits within the regime might be a reaction to the emergence of popular protests, the authors regard these demonstrations as prior to the sequence of events they define as initiating the transition and hence as exogenous to their model and excluded from their analysis.[48]

This sequential model of elite bargaining has been questioned, even for the foundational Southern European and Latin American transitions. Ruth Berins Collier and James Mahoney, for example, find that protests and strikes led

by labor unions in Spain, Peru, and Argentina "were crucial in destabilizing authoritarianism" and helped open the way for subsequent democratization. In these countries popular mobilization fostered divisions within the authoritarian elite and pressed them to surrender power in a process of "defense extrication" when they had yet to formulate a "reform project." In Uruguay and Brazil, mass popular opposition and labor protests played a crucial role in undermining the regimes' "legitimation projects" and their attempts to control and limit political parties.[49] O'Donnell and Schmitter's elite-driven model also performs poorly in explaining the cases of many third-wave democratizations where mass demonstrations instead generated divisions within the regime. In instances where authoritarian rule has been highly personalistic, the real impetus for democratization originated from the mobilization of civil society. This has been the case in much of Africa and Northeast and Southeast Asia.[50]

Two other weaknesses are evident in the elite-centered transitions approach. First, despite the important role of the military in both the maintenance and breakdown of autocratic rule, the elite bargaining approach either omits the armed forces or treats the military as one and the same as the authoritarian regime. The typical assumption is that the armed forces under authoritarian rule are "prefect agents" of the regime. There appears to be little recognition that the military can create a political moral hazard problem by turning against the regime.[51] This oversight of the military's role and the conflation of its interest with the authoritarian regime is odd given the high level of specificity on agency in the transition process, which is, defining the actors strategically with respect to the position they adopt with respect to the transition game—are they actors involved in the transition, authoritarian incumbents or the opposition, hard-liners or soft-liners, maximalists or moderates. For example, in their analysis of the revolutionary struggles of Colombia and Venezuela, Michael Burton and John Higley, two of the strongest proponents of the elite bargaining approach to democratization, ignore all other elites in the two countries and focus almost exclusively on agreements negotiated between civilian leaders of the political parties.[52] Their omission of the armed forces is stark because in both countries the military assisted in the transition to electoral democratic rule.

In studies that do not use O'Donnell and Schmitter's elite-driven approach and instead examine the outcomes of popular uprisings, the armed forces still remain a bystander in the process.[53] For example, Mark Thompson's comparison of the variation in outcomes of the Chinese and Eastern European mass

revolts in the late 1980s and early 1990s privileges the differing nature of post-totalitarianism in these countries.[54] Gerald Segal and John Phipps, in their study of the armed forces of communist regimes, argue that the military's loyalty to the regime was contingent on party legitimacy—whether the party was involved in an internal revolutionary struggle.[55] Jason Brownlee, Steven Levitsky, and Lucan Way, on the other hand, contend that the lack of external powers' intervention permits authoritarian regimes to respond to domestic challenges with brutal crackdowns.[56]

Although these studies offer illuminating perspectives on the varying outcomes of popular revolts, we should remind ourselves that the armed forces and the authoritarian incumbents share a crucial bond. In fact, how this civil-military relationship persists or erodes has important bearings on the outcome of the survival of authoritarianism. For instance, Alfred Stepan has pointed out that for transitions in Brazil and the the area known as the Southern Cone (Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, and Chile), the armed forces were major players and actively participated in the accords and accommodations concluded with the political elite.[57] Consequently, whether democratization eventually takes root following the transition process depends largely on this pattern of civil-military interaction. This is because the military, short of its elimination by foreign powers or revolution, will remain a permanent part of the state apparatus and as such has access to coercive resources. The officer corps, in particular, will be an integral part of the state's machinery that any new democratic government will have to manage in any postauthoritarian setting.[58]

Nonetheless, despite the importance of the armed forces in the life of any authoritarian regime, it remains unfashionable in the social sciences to attribute a key role to the military in the collapse of autocratic rule. Personal stories of attempts to challenge authoritarianism garner most emotive appeal when these are undertaken by the common folk—students, labor, the middle class, peasants, and so on.[59] It is regarded as disingenuous to credit the main instrument of repression in an authoritarian regime for any role it may play in the transition process, however large these contributions may be, which leads to the continued downplaying of the armed forces in studies on the dismantling of authoritarian rule.

Because the elite-centered transitions paradigm mainly examines the breakdown process, focusing on the splits within the authoritarian regime, the causes of these schisms are overlooked and treated as exogenous. Scholars have explained away the causes of elite divisions, suggesting that they emerge *ex natura*

over problems inherent to the nature of authoritarianism.[60] However, by focusing on authoritarian institutions and examining how autocratic rule becomes institutionalized, my study shows that the process leading to the unraveling of an authoritarian regime is far more predictable than the elite bargaining approach contends. Key in this regard is the degree of personalism in authoritarian institutions—personalism creates incentives for the inner circle and the armed forces to defect.

Rethinking Social Movement Theories

While the elite bargaining approach deemphasizes the importance of popular mobilization, studies on contentious politics (and social movements) have been more partial to the role mass protests play. McAdam, Tilly, and Tarrow have argued that the collapse of authoritarianism and the subsequent process of democratization are inseparable from contentious collective action—the former cannot occur without the latter. As the authors suggest, "democracy results from, mobilizes, and reshapes popular contention."[61]

Contentious politics or, more specifically, social movements could shape the direction of the transition process and the subsequent course of democracy by first pushing the liberalization process further and faster than the authoritarian regime incumbents might have otherwise wanted. As soon as the regime begins the process of opening up, mass protests make "mere liberalization" impossible.[62] Adam Przeworski has suggested that popular mobilization could pressure authoritarian regime soft-liners to "get off the fence" and join the growing force for democratization and more fully commit themselves to the pathway toward democracy by calling for elections. In most cases, soft-liners do opt for greater democratization rather than rejoin the hard-liners and return to authoritarianism for two reasons. First, the soft-liners decision to opt for greater democratization signals a break with the hard-liners. Thus if the hard-liners successfully repress the popular demonstrations, soft-liners are likely to be excluded from power, labeled as traitors, and punished. Second, if the campaign to suppress the mass movements fails and the authoritarian regime collapses, soft-liners will then be excluded from power by the democratic opposition as the soft-liners will now be labeled as turncoats to the popular movements.[63]

McAdam, Tilly, and Tarrow's study is important and widely cited, but it suffers from a shortcoming in that the authors fail to identify and illustrate causal mechanisms cited in Przeworski's study or any other causes that explain the relationship of the breakdown of authoritarian rule to the development of

democracy. Their work serves more as a description of the collective dynamics that appear in the course of authoritarian breakdown rather than a mechanism-based explanation for authoritarian transition and the development of democracy. Indeed, despite the enormous proliferation of scholarship on social movements and political protests in the past three decades, many studies that cite the central role of social movements in the dismantling of authoritarianism mirror McAdam et al.'s shortcomings as they typically engage in one of two tasks—they either explain the emergence and sustenance of mass protest movements, or they describe the activities of popular movements and show that these contribute to the overall project of democratization.[64]

In fact, virtually "all theories in the field of social movements are, first and foremost, theories of movement emergence" with little concern for the outcomes or efficacy of these movements.[65] The central focus of these theories has been to explain the genesis of social movements in terms of the realignment or contraction of political opportunities available to the protest movements: relative openness or closure of the institutional political system, the stability of elite alignments, presence or absence of important allies, and the extent of repression.[66] Several studies employ the political opportunities framework, or a variation of it, to explain authoritarian collapse, including Valeria Bunce's study on the collapse of Eastern European socialism and Mark Beissinger's work on the unraveling of the Soviet Union.[67]

In the studies that do examine the effect of social movements on the process of democratization, most scholars argue that movements contribute to democratic development not because of the direct role they play in bringing down authoritarian rule but rather because these popular movements aid in democracy-promoting activities. Social movements do so by increasing the numbers and connections among potential participants across social classes (for example, through the formation of cross-class political coalitions and parties) and by equalizing resources and connections among participants through public education programs and the mass media.[68] Examples of the democratizing credentials of social movements include several of Scott Mainwaring's studies of democratization in Latin America, Ruth Berins Collier's examination of the labor movement in South America and Western Europe, and Michael Bratton and Nicolas van de Walle's inquiry on protest movements in Africa.[69]

These studies are valuable as they contribute to our understanding of the inner workings of protest movements and how they interact with their political environments. Studies on social movements and democratization are also

important as they demonstrate that such social organizations can influence the content and outcome of the democratization process. Nonetheless, in most social movement analyses, the following crucial questions remain unanswered: How can we be sure that the authoritarian transition is the result of the social movement's mobilization? How can we eliminate the possibility that such a change would not have taken place anyway, as a product of other social forces? How can we determine if the observed political transformation is the product of movement activities and not the result of a reformist move by the political elite?[70]

This book addresses these deficiencies in the social movement literature by explaining how and why popular demonstrations can succeed. Social movements can lead to transitions from authoritarian rule, but only when these mass movements work together with other political forces. Popular movements succeed when they work in unison with the armed forces and key figures from the domestic opposition to challenge authoritarian rule.

Defining Military Defection from Authoritarian Rule

How do we know if and when a military has defected from autocratic rule? In this study, I suggest that when the military does not, or fails to, suppress mass demonstrations against the regime, it has deserted dictatorial rule. The armed forces' refusal or failure to put down popular protests is a good measure for military defection and is particularly stark when dictators express a preference for both the "what" and "how" of the use of force, and if the military does not work to the fullest extent of its capacities to carry out what the authoritarian regime had tasked.[71] When the armed forces evade prescribed orders through bureaucratic foot-dragging, delay tactics, or "slow-rolling," these acts may impede operations so much that the undesired policy will never be implemented, even if these are not instances of overt defection.[72]

Clearly, when the armed forces refuse to suppress popular challenges to autocratic rule, more often than not, it leads to a collapse of autocratic rule—a transition from authoritarianism.[73] Transitions are defined as periods of regime change. In the words of Guillermo O'Donnell and Philippe Schmitter, a transition from authoritarian rule is the "interval between one political regime and another." The process is "delimited on one side by the launching of the process of dissolution of an authoritarian regime," and on the other "by the installation of some form of democracy" or the "return to some form of authoritarian rule."[74]

Transitions often begin when an authoritarian regime is weakened and possibilities emerge for some form of political change. Several events could create such an opening, including the emergence of mass demonstrations, the death of a leader, conflict within the ruling bloc, or exogenous shocks such as economic crises or wars. Authoritarian openings create a situation in which governments find themselves unable to conjugate "minimally acceptable levels of efficacy, effectiveness and legitimacy."[75]

Once these openings occur, the transition could unfold in several ways, depending on the preferences and strength of the political opposition. In the first scenario, authoritarian incumbents could decide to cooperate with the transition process, parlaying their willingness to liberalize into some form of guarantees of influence or protection under the new regime. If authoritarian incumbents do not renege on the path of liberalization, this form of transition could lead to a consolidated democracy, in which a political system that provides for regular constitutional opportunities to change public officials and social mechanisms, through which the population influences major political decisions, is installed.[76]

Transitions may regress back into authoritarianism. Two situations could lead to a return to autocratic rule. First, the authoritarian leadership, rather than cooperating with the political opposition, could choose to hang on to power. In such a circumstance, the transition will succeed only if the opposition musters enough support to overthrow the regime. This could happen when opposition groups defeat the authoritarian regime in an election (if the incumbents choose to loosen some aspects of political life by allowing some form of electoral freedom), or through waves of protests and strikes, which force the authoritarian leadership to step down.[77] Second, a transition could also unfold where neither authoritarian incumbents nor the political opposition are able to control the process. This scenario, typically called a protracted transition, is characterized by a "war of attrition," in which the authoritarian regime and the opposition engage in a tug of war for control of the polity until one side musters sufficient resources to prevail.[78]

Temporally, the entire transition process could be seen as unfolding in three stages: *deterioration*, *breakdown*, and *installation*. *Deterioration* is typified by an opening in an authoritarian regime where the incumbent is unable to cope with the policy agenda; *breakdown* is marked by the collapse of the regime followed by a marked discontinuity of the regime and the *installation* of a new government, which may lead to the start of major socioeconomic and political changes that

lead to democratic forms of governance. *Installation*, however, could also lead to a restoration of another form of authoritarian rule.[79]

The book's focus on authoritarian institutions and their subsequent impact on the military's response to mass protests cover the first two phases of the transition process. The installation phase of the transition, specifically whether the collapse of authoritarian rule leads to a more democratic polity, is beyond the scope of the book. The process of democratization is far too multifaceted and broad. As Charles Tilly has argued, democratization almost never follows a singular path nor has universally applicable necessary or sufficient conditions in its occurrence.[80] The goal of this study is narrowly focused—it does not aim to provide an overall conception of the democratization process, nor does it seek to displace current theoretical understandings of authoritarian transitions. Instead, the book aims to provide new insights into how the breakdown of autocratic rule could unfold, concentrating on the vital role armed forces play through their interactions with the autocratic regime and civil society, with a particular emphasis on Asia's experience

Plan of the Book

Following this introduction, in chapter 2 I expand on the book's theoretical argument. I do so by first explaining the importance of political institutions for authoritarian rule. I next develop further several key concepts that are pertinent to my argument—the minimum winning coalition, moral hazard, power sharing, and personalism. I subsequently expound on how personalism within the ruling coalition of an authoritarian regime, in particular within the armed forces, can lead to a greater likelihood of elite defection when mass protests develop.

Chapters 3 and 4 are the main case studies of the book and illustrate the argument that high personalism in the armed forces and successful pacting leads to military defection in the face of popular unrest. In chapter 3, I examine the February 1986 Philippine People Power revolution, while in chapter 4, I look at why the Indonesian military sided with the student demonstrations from February to May 1998. The emphases in these two chapters are the personalistic rule of the two presidents, Marcos of the Philippines and Suharto in Indonesia.

Chapter 5 will demonstrate the theoretical argument in the converse situation, when dictatorial regimes share power and authoritarian institutions are not personalistic. The consequence in such settings would be the brutal suppression of popular demonstrations. In this part of the book, I highlight the

Chinese Communist Party's (CCP) key role in the devolvement of power in China. In doing, the CCP ensured the People's Liberation Army's loyalty, which it demonstrated by brutally suppressing the Tiananmen Square protests in June 1989. This chapter also shows that military regimes may possess similar power-sharing functions as political parties and hence retain the loyalty of the officer corps. This was evident within the senior leadership of the Burmese Tatmadaw (military) prior to the violent crackdown of the August 2007 antigovernment demonstrations led largely by Buddhist monks.

I conclude the study by revisiting the Arab Spring of 2011 and examining to what extent the personalism argument illustrates some of the key outcomes in these popular revolts. The conclusion also explores whether the personalism and power-sharing typology explains the military's response in other prominent instances of popular demonstrations against authoritarian rule, namely the Eastern European states' experience of 1989, the Colored Revolutions in the early 2000s, and other Asian cases not covered earlier in the book. I offer some thoughts on the explanatory power of the personalism and power-sharing argument and end by detailing the implications of the book's findings for our understanding of authoritarianism and political change in Asia.

CHAPTER TWO

Authoritarian Institutions

Power Sharing, Personalism, and Military Defection

Why Authoritarian Institutions Matter

An authoritarian regime's choice of institutions—whether it becomes personalistic or shares power—determines the likelihood of military defection when popular protests arise. This perspective draws on the new institutionalism in political science, or the positive theory of institutions. Institutions are humanly devised constraints that shape human interactions. They are akin to the rules of the game but in a societal setting: they specify incentives and disincentives to guide human exchanges in the political, social, or economic realms. Humans devise institutions to reduce uncertainty by providing some form of structure to guide everyday life. Institutions can be formal (such as constitutions) or informal (norms or codes of behavior); they may be intentionally created or may simply evolve over time.[1]

Authoritarian regimes are constituted by a combination of both formal and informal political institutions. Formal institutions may comprise political parties or bureaucracies; informal institutions could include norms and practices such as patronage or clientelism. Whatever form institutions take, authoritarian institutions condition politics within the polity because they impact incentives or disincentives faced by individuals or groups.[2]

Because political institutions constrain human action and help shape the dynamics of politics, it makes sense that institutions nested in authoritarian regimes should have an impact on the process of military defection and subsequently the unraveling of autocratic rule. As Douglass North suggests, "History matters . . . because the present and the future are connected to the past by the continuity of today's institutions. Today's and tomorrow's choices are shaped by the past."[3] To reinforce North's point, Terry Lynn Karl argues that political

institutions, while not necessarily delimiting alternative actions political actors may decide to take, are still powerful "confining conditions" that restrict or enhance the political choices available to political actors.[4] This is so because struggles in any political context are "mediated by the institutional setting" in which they occur. Kathleen Thelen and Sven Steinmo contend that "institutions shape the goals that political actors pursue and also structure power relations among them, privileging some while putting others at a disadvantage."[5] In other words, institutions play a key role in shaping political battles and in doing so exert a powerful influence on the outcomes of these political struggles.

Institutions are not merely structural constraints. Political actors struggle over the design and content of institutions—the development of institutions reflect the goal-oriented actions of individuals as well as the unintended consequences of their actions.[6] Political actors fight for and over the "structural parameters" in order to establish long-term political advantage. These contests over institutional design, especially in authoritarian contexts, are often intense as political actors know that institutions can "create precedents that can relieve them of the burden of constantly fighting the same old political battles over and over again." Getting a foothold in the creation of institutions is thus essential for autocrats as they can then change the rules of the political game so that social, political, and economic life in the polity will work more consistently in their favor. Political institutions therefore not only become instruments for guiding and controlling political behavior, but because of the high political stakes, they are also arenas of tenacious contentions, particularly during periods of turmoil.[7]

Institutions have not always been the focus in the study of authoritarianism. In their influential work on dictatorships, Carl Friedrich and Zbigniew Brzezinski regard autocratic forms of institutions as mere window dressing and hence of very little importance. For them autocratic structures of government have "no real significance because the power of decision is completely concentrated, either in a single leader or in a collective body, at least for a limited period."[8]

Prior studies have also framed the central issue of survival among dictatorships as a struggle between a very narrow authoritarian elite and the much larger population over which it governs. Hannah Arendt's classic work, like Friedrich & Brzezinski's, devotes sizeable portions to discussing the instruments authoritarian elites used to dominate the masses, such as ideology and secret police.[9] In addition, these earlier studies tend to examine only authoritarian

state–society relations with little emphasis on the dynamics within the regime. Juan Linz's survey of the literature on authoritarian regimes, for example, distinguishes the nature of these regimes on the basis of the polity's relationship to society. Other forms of authoritarianism are later distinguished in the study in a similar way—by the degree of political pluralism in society and the ability to mobilize the population.[10] While these works were important in shaping our understanding of how dictatorships work, they tell us little about the dynamics within the authoritarian regime itself. Their state-society focus does tell us that the autocrats are not accountable to the populace at large, but it does not permit us to explore how authoritarian politics varies in different institutional settings.[11]

Our understanding of how political change could unfold within authoritarian settings requires an understanding of the polity's distinctive institutional heritage.[12] We need to examine the "intermediate institutions that shape political strategies, the ways institutions structure relations of power among contending groups in society, and especially the focus on the process of politics and policy making within given institutional parameters."[13] By looking at institutions, we understand how "a regime develops a logic of its own" and reproduces over time "its particular configuration of institutional arrangements and dominant ideas."[14]

The Dictator and His Minimum Winning Coalition

The creation of institutions is an important task for any authoritarian leader. The main undertaking of autocrats does not end when they seize political power (displacing the old governing elite); the new leadership must also consider how they will govern. Governing the state involves the consolidation of political power, which encompasses the defining of and the institutionalization of a new political order. Samuel Huntington warned us more than four decades ago that neither force nor charisma can ensure prolonged stability in a polity, only some form of political organization can.[15] When dictators seek to consolidate their grip on power, formal and informal frameworks must be established so that the government can manage dissent and mobilize and channel support for itself.[16] Fashioning effective strategies for authoritarian survival demands an elaborate set of institutions to dole out spoils as well as impose sanctions.[17] Once in place all major political forces can then routinely use these institutions.[18]

In thinking about the kind of institutions that can help authoritarian leaders manage affairs within the polity, an important consideration would be finding ways to thwart the threat of a rebellion and ensuring cooperation from those who are governed.[19] Almost all autocrats worry about their ability to hold on to office, because they do not know who supports them—presumed allies or supporters of the regime may profess loyalty even as they conspire to overthrow the regime.[20] Two constituencies are pertinent in this regard: first, dictators face political competition from within the elite; second, they face pressures from the masses who can threaten their grip on power through mass mobilization.[21] These two pressure points are similar to Guillermo O'Donnell's conceptualization of horizontal and vertical accountability, albeit in a nondemocratic context.[22] Horizontal accountability in an authoritarian setting is primarily about the responsiveness of the dictator to members of the elite. Vertical accountability, on the other hand, is the responsiveness of the authoritarian leader to the broader masses. In authoritarian regimes, even without an actual say in the selection of the dictator, the general population can dint the prospects of his survival through mass protests—repression as a long-term strategy is insufficient to sustain rule when faced with such challenges.[23] Some scholars of democratic transitions have suggested that the masses matter more when autocratic regimes collapse. For example, in their study of the forty-two sub-Saharan African countries, Bratton and van de Walle observe that "transitions in Africa seem to be occurring more commonly from below."[24] However, I argue it would be prudent instead for autocrats to devote their attention to their inner circle, the ruling elite.

The focus on my study is on horizontal accountability, the dictator's coterie of elite.[25] Authoritarian leaders, even the most despotic, cannot rule single-handedly. Dictators need the assistance of advisors, confidantes, some form of a launching organization as well the cooperation of other organs within the state to rule. These would include a political party, the military, the police, the courts, the bureaucracy, and possibly even the legislature. Autocrats have to develop alliances with the leaders of these organizations who will then assist them with the task of ruling. And to fulfill their role in this alliance, dictators delegate to these leaders political power and tools of repression.[26]

As Milan Svolik noted in his comprehensive survey of autocratic leadership changes, the vast majority of dictators were removed by those within their inner circle—members of the government or the security forces (fig. 2.1).[27] Of

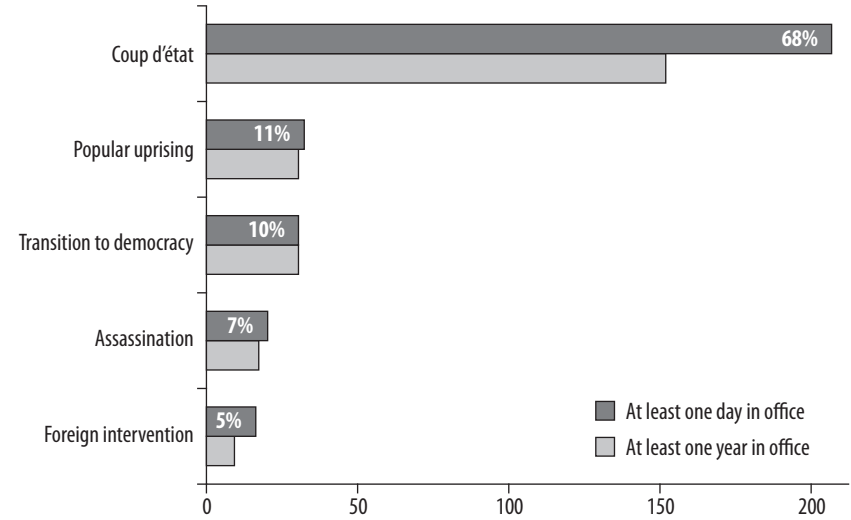

Figure 2.1. Exits from authoritarian rule

the 303 authoritarian leaders who held office for at least a day between 1946 and 2008 and lost power by nonconstitutional means, only 32 were removed by a popular uprising and another 30 stepped down under public pressure to democratize.[28] These cases accounted for only about one-fifth of dictators' nonconstitutional exits from office. In the other instances, 20 leaders were assassinated, and 16 were removed by foreign intervention. Of the remaining 205 dictators, about two-thirds were removed by insiders within the regime, suggesting that an overwhelming majority of dictators lose power to those from their inner circle rather than to the masses outside. Indeed, as early as 1965 BC, King Sesostris I of Egypt warned future kings: "Be on your guard against all subordinates, because you cannot be sure who is plotting against you."[29] Similarly, third-century-BC Chinese philosopher Han Fei Tzu advised rulers to distrust subordinates and inspire fear in them.[30] The predominant political struggle within dictatorships is therefore not between the ruling elite and the masses but rather one among regime insiders.[31]

The dictator's inner circle, members of the elite the ruler has to be concerned about, is analogous to what Bueno de Mesquita et al. have termed the *minimum winning coalition*—individuals an autocrat must bring round to ensure the regime's political survival.[32] The minimum winning coalition consists of individuals who support the government and jointly with the authoritarian lead-

ers hold enough power for the survival of the regime.[33] My interest is the role of the armed forces in the minimum winning coalition and its relationship with the autocrat.

When an authoritarian leader retains the support of or successfully thwarts challenges from the minimum winning coalition, he is likely to continue in office. Gordon Tullock suggests that threats emanating from the ruling elite are the principal concern of a dictator and are the main constraint in his decision making:

> The internal history of any dictatorship is largely a jockeying for power. The dictator lives continuously under the Sword of Damocles and equally continuously worries about the thickness of the thread. His high-ranking courtiers, on the other hand, are well advised to share their head in order to make certain it is still firmly attached every time they leave his presence. Of course, politics in most modern dictatorships is not as bloody as that in the ancient autocracies . . . but great personal insecurity is still part of them.[34]

To form and retain the support of the minimum winning coalition, dictators rely on two main instruments—patronage and repression.[35] According to Bueno de Mesquita et al., because dictatorships have smaller minimum winning coalitions relative to democracies, patronage tends to be in the form of private goods.[36] Private goods consist of access to graft, bribes, and other privileges. Authoritarian rulers may also extract rents from the economy to reward loyal supporters. Repression, on the other hand, is applied by the government "to bring about political quiescence and facilitate the continuity of the regime through some form of restriction or violation of political civil liberties."[37] Repression includes acts that violate "due process in the enforcement and adjudication of law, and personal integrity or security."[38] Through these actions, autocrats impose or threaten their subjects with sanctions to keep them under control and suppress dissent.[39]

The ability of a dictator to retain the support of his minimum winning coalition is important for several reasons. First, because these are politically and militarily powerful elites, they hold access to the necessary resources to remove him. Second, because these elites are often members of a single organization (for example, a political party or the military), they do not have to overcome the inherent coordination and collective action problems associated with putsch attempts. Third, members of the minimum winning coalition are likely to be the very elites that originally assisted with the

dictator's ascent to power, proving their ability to successfully overthrow regimes.[40]

Moral Hazard and Autocratic Power Sharing

The insecurity dictators face from their minimum winning coalitions stems from two inherent sources of moral hazard under authoritarian rule. First, when authoritarian leaders rely on a group of elites, bestowing on them economic, social, political, and military resources, to rule, this delegation of power is risky. Due to the lack of information about the minimum winning coalition's intentions, dictators are unsure whether these elites will use the bequeathed resources to overthrow them.[41]

Second, again due to the paucity of information about intentions, another moral hazard is apparent after authoritarian leaders consolidate their rule. As rivals are defeated and would-be challengers eradicated, the dictator can after a period of time, enjoy the fruits of power, unencumbered, inviting the prospect he could omit individuals or groups that had assisted him as he rose to power. When autocratic leaders consolidate power, more often than not they choose to limit their minimum winning coalitions rather than expand them, particularly if the main source of patronage involves divisible private goods. This is so because each member of the coalition can get more if the numbers among whom the distributable goods have to be shared remain as small as possible.[42] Dictators have a strong incentive to retain as much power as possible while restricting the size of minimum winning coalition so that the elites can have more to themselves.[43] In fact, once an autocrat acquires sufficient additional power, he could easily remove certain members of the minimum winning coalition whose support he regards as no longer necessary for the government to remain in power. If enough members of the ruling elite are eliminated, the remaining members may be left with too little power to challenge the autocrat. While some members of the ruling coalition could conceivably attempt to strengthen their position as well (at the expense of the autocrat), the dictator's position at the apex of the polity and his control of the executive and other resources available within the state put him in a more advantageous position vis-à-vis his rivals.

Herein lays the moral hazard problem under authoritarian rule. Due to the lack of information about each other's intentions, the dictator and his ruling coalition have difficulty credibly committing to joint rule. The problem of credibly committing not to abuse the autocrat's "loyal friends" by amassing power

could go undetected by those in the minimum winning coalition.[44] If dictators cannot commit to not abusing their loyal friends, they will permanently need to look over their shoulders as their allies would move to subvert autocratic rule rather than "investing" in the regime. Likewise, schemes by the minimum winning coalition to depose the dictator could be stealthily plotted. The moral hazard problem is magnified when there are popular challenges to the regime and when the dictator then needs to rely more on his repressive apparatus, such as the armed forces. If autocrats do not use soldiers to repress the masses, they will be vulnerable to threats from these masses. However, if they rely on their militaries for repression, dictators are at risk to challenges from within their repressive apparatus.[45]

The dictator and his minimum winning coalition are hence never absolutely certain about each other's intentions. For dictators to win power and subsequently retain it, apart from being wary about challenges from their ruling coalition, they must also credibly commit to their supporters that they will not be abandoned and will continue to be rewarded.[46] One difficulty in overcoming the challenge to coexist is that in autocratic forms of governance there can be no independent and higher authority to guarantee that the spoils of joint rule will be fairly divided, as the existence of one would imply a check on the very power the ruling elite and the dictator seek to monopolize.[47] Also dictators cannot simply ensure trust by repressing would-be dissenters in the minimum winning coalition into submission, nor can they co-opt the discontented through the disbursement of material benefits as described in Bueno de Mesquita et al.[48]

The central task of any dictatorial regime then is to develop some form of institution that allows the autocrat and his allies to credibly commit to joint rule. Dictators require a "launching organization" that is more or less institutionalized to keep them in power. These institutions should ideally provide means to construct consensus within the regime's key stakeholders, serve as a vehicle to distribute spoils and political offices to build support within the regime, apply repression if there are dissenters, and creating linkages to social organizations so that the state can be extended into society. The ability of the dictator to deliver carrots and sticks in a regularized manner is a function of these institutions.[49]

Dictators and their ruling elite cannot rely on a verbal pact among themselves to respect each other's position or status and to consult everyone (formally or informally) over a given issue. It is also difficult to enforce commitments

based on a written agreement in the form of a contract accepted and signed by everyone. As in any pact, an autocratic deal needs an external guarantee, something that goes beyond the strict promise that everyone in the ruling coalition will behave well and keep to their end of the agreement. Unless there are mechanisms to monitor the behavior of the parties of the agreement, and unless there are means to enforce the power-sharing deal, anyone could have the temptation to renege from it and to undo the agreement to jointly share in ruling.

An autocratic agreement requires the existence of some form of public body or an institution that understands the nature of the deal within the ruling coalition and guarantees its maintenance. This would be a platform where policy concessions and the distribution of spoils—monetary rewards, perks, and other privileges—are controlled, demands are revealed, and compromises are hashed out within the ruling coalition without undue public scrutiny. When ruling elites, including the dictator, partake in these arrangements, they provide a vehicle to advance their careers in a stable system of patronage within an autocratic system.[50]

Naturally, this body cannot be a third party, independent from the ruling coalition, to whom the latter entrusts the enforcement of the pact. If the ruling clique relies on some form of an independent authority to guarantee that the spoils of autocratic rule will be shared as agreed on, sovereignty of the state would actually lie in this body's hands and not under the control of the governing elite. The institution (or institutions) that embodies and preserves the autocratic agreement must therefore be some structure where the members of the authoritarian elite are represented and that allows the ruling coalition to actually participate in decision making. This collective body must be such that it monitors the autocratic deal by providing information about the current balance of power, and about the possible attempts to alter it, and to enforce it by punishing or credibly threatening to punish those that may deviate from the power-sharing agreement.[51]

Power-sharing Institutions and Durable Authoritarian Rule

Moral hazard under authoritarian rule can be mitigated when dictators adopt appropriate political institutions. These institutions most often take the form of high-level, deliberative, and power-sharing bodies—committees, politburos, or ruling councils—and are typically found within authoritarian parties, juntas, and legislatures. Natasha Ezrow and Erica Frantz found that

on average when autocratic regimes incorporate any of the above institutions they last more than twice as long as their institution-free counterparts.[52] Why is this so?

Power-sharing political institutions aid regime longevity in two ways. First, they fulfill two central functions of monitoring and enforcement needed for credible commitments among the ruling elite. Power-sharing institutions provide the ruling coalition with information about the actions and status of the minimum winning coalition and the dictator. In meeting together as a ruling council for example, elites can check that their equals are still alive and that the dictator has not brought about arbitrary changes in the configuration of power in the polity. Similarly, elites can monitor the nature, size, and stability of the existing factions within the minimum winning coalition. In doing so, the elite can verify that no section of this inner circle has become 'too loyal' or that the dictator has become too "monarchical."[53]

The Politburo Standing Committee of the Communist Party of China (1949–present) and the Chilean Junta Militar de Gobierno under Pinochet (1973–90) for instance, established formal rules delineating membership and elite decision making that streamlined the exchange of information among the minimum winning coalition and offered mechanisms to assess whether ruling elites complied with their ends of the bargain.

Second, the routine of meeting in some form of an assembly serves as a yardstick to assess the intentions of the authoritarian leader. Any attempt by the dictator to block or not convene an assembly is a signal that he is intent on disrupting the old balance of power. Authoritarian institutions hence provide a regularized venue for interaction between the dictator and his allies, providing for greater transparency among them, and offer a publicly observable signal of the dictator and the minimum winning coalition's commitment to power sharing.[54]

Authoritarian institutions play a decisive role in managing relations within the polity. These institutions help regularize the "rules of the game" within the regime so that moral hazard problems are mitigated, power is shared, and abuses do not occur. Institutions that create stable power-sharing arrangements can generate unity within the ruling elite and enhance the longevity of authoritarian rule.[55] When a dictator has in place institutions for intra-elite dispute resolution and credibly promises to share power with his ruling coalition, these mechanisms generate incentives for all within the grand coalition in the survival of authoritarian rule. If these institutions are absent, potential

rivals who have opportunities to defect would always be better off creating subversive coalitions and rebelling against autocratic rule.[56]

Forms of Power-sharing Institutions

Political Parties

Political parties are among the most resilient forms of "institutionalized ruling coalitions" under authoritarian rule because they offer a durable way to share power between a dictator and his core leadership, and they also dampen intra-elite disputes. For a start, an autocratic party restricts its membership to an exclusive group. The party then uses formal or informal party norms to control appointments and promotions to key leadership positions. The dictator may have some discretion to form the central leadership of the party but the composition of this core must always come from within party ranks. Dictators cannot rule by fiat with a party structure in place, as party cadres will only support the regime when they can expect to be promoted into rent-paying appointments.[57] Political parties offer individuals willing to collaborate with the regime an institutionalized channel to advance their careers within a stable system of patronage and, in doing so, pave the way for quasiconstitutional form of power transfer by institutionalizing and regulating succession.[58] Even if these rules are informal, they offer, at minimum, guidelines for behavior by curbing elite conflict and minimizing potentially destabilizing power struggles. The absence of such institutions to steer a transition from one leader to another could cause regimes to fragment and eventually fall apart.[59]

Political parties in dictatorial regimes can likewise effectively co-opt a fair proportion of the population (the rank and file and midlevel party officials). The expectation is that if party officials (of all ranks) desire to progressively gain more powerful political positions, the distribution of these political positions and privileges will be conditional on some desired service. That is why most parties in authoritarian regimes have a hierarchical apparatus that spans several levels of membership.[60] Consider Syria's Baath Party of the 1980s for example. It consisted of 11,163 cells that were grouped into 1,395 basic units at the level of villages, factories, neighborhoods, and public institutions; these in turn formed 154 sub-branches at the district or town level, and these then constituted 18 branches in the provinces, cities, and major institutions. The leadership of the Baath Party consisted of regional and national commands, with the general secretary at the very top.[61] Hierarchies help by differentiating the allocation of benefits and services associated with party membership across

the various levels. Party members in the lower ranks typically provide most of the service, while those higher up in the hierarchy reap the most benefits. The bulk of political party service—ideological work, intelligence gathering, and popular mobilization—occurs at the lowest level of the party hierarchy. As such, authoritarian parties have entry-level membership ranks, such as that of candidate member, apprentice, or "friend of the party." Party rules often require that the advancement to full membership depend on the extent of grassroots party service a prospective member must fulfill before acquiring full membership status. As an illustration, probationary membership in the Iraqi Baath Party took a minimum of seven years and entailed a progression through the ranks of sympathizer, supporter, candidate, and trainee.[62]

Many positions of economic or social significance may only be accessible to those with established partisan credentials. These payoffs for sticking with the party for the senior members include employment for full-time party functionaries, better promotion prospects within the government bureaucracy and government-controlled enterprises, and privileged access to educational opportunities and social services such as child-care or public housing.[63]

Autocratic political parties thus play a powerful role in enticing officials of high rank to remain invested in the existing institutions, provided that they expect to obtain high rents over the long run. Because the benefits of party membership become more significant as members move up the hierarchy, the regime's survival arises endogenously as party members move up the senior ranks. By assigning costly service to the early stages of party members' career and delaying the benefits of membership to the latter stages, the hierarchical structure of the party makes the incumbent dictator more resilient to potential challengers. This is so because party members have already expended the costly service at the junior stage and will expect to reap the benefits when they attain senior party status. So long as the autocratic party holds the monopoly of power positions and remains the "only game in town," officials of high rank will have incentives to remain loyal.[64] Consider Jerry Hough's explanation for the grim prospects of regime change in the Soviet Union under Brezhnev:

> The Soviet government has thus far been skillful in the way it has tied the fate of many individuals in the country to the fate of the regime. By admitting such a broad range of the educated public into the party, it has provided full opportunities for upward social mobility for those who avoid dissidence, while giving

> everyone in the managerial class reason to wonder what the impact of an anti-Communist revolution would be on him or her personally.[65]

We can thus observe that if autocratic party systems are institutionalized they can also regulate intrinsic conflict among the elites. When political party systems are institutionalized, formal and informal rules are put in place. For competing elites who are not successful in their quest for advancement, formal and informal rules provide a framework for opportunities in the future. When autocratic party elites disagree, formal and informal rules can regulate these disputes and offer solutions that otherwise would have been absent if party cadres were left to their own devices.[66] Parties "promote the achievement of collective choices" by offering choices that transcend factional advantage and instead provide benefits for all cadres.[67] This centripetal pull of autocratic political parties is cogently summarized by Barbara Geddes:

> Factions form in single-party regimes around policy differences and competition for leadership positions, as they do in other kinds of regimes, but everyone is better off if all factions remain united and in office. This is why cooptation rather than exclusion is usually the rule in established single-party regimes.[68]

Cadre dynamics within a dictatorial party is thus akin to the incentive structure of a Stag Hunt game, in which all players are better off if they do their part to snare the stag; the alternative is not better than cooperation.[69]

When autocratic parties create and maintain an institutionalized system for the disbursement of spoils and the resolution of disputes, this in turn creates a cohesive group of elites. So long as the party organization manages its cadres' ambitions, these individual pursuits will be a source of continued party allegiance and existence. This is so because the formal and informal rules within the party generate a sense of collective security, a belief among the power holders that their immediate and long-term interests are best served if they remain within the party organization. If the rules of the game within the party are adhered to, no faction will indefinitely trump the other, and the party's decisions over time will reflect its composition. And once party cadres begin experiencing the collective benefits a party can bring, they are more likely to support its continued existence. The accruing of collective benefits delivers an increasing "returns to power" through a self-reinforcing cycle of elite privilege and dominance. It would therefore be sensible for party elites who have benefited from their party membership to continue maintaining them.[70]

If dictators abrogate mechanisms to share power and resolve differences and instead vest power in their closest confidantes, fears of exclusion will proliferate. "Distance breeds distrust." When institutions within the party disappear, interfactional fighting turns into one of political life or death. In addition, the lack of a party and its associated mechanisms to manage inter-elite interaction amplifies the allure of working outside of the party framework in order to prevail in their power struggles. Previous defenders of the regime could now become the ones who undermine the system, seeing that little opportunity for success exists. When previously committed party stalwarts defect, this could expose internal conflicts to the public and encourage a counter-alliance with the opposition to challenge autocratic rule, with the result that the regime now becomes vulnerable to popular challenges. Hence this bottom line—when autocratic political parties decay, mechanisms for rewards and sanction atrophy, and this decline alienates and draws hitherto regime supporters toward the opposition.[71]

Military Regimes

Institutionalized military regimes that have mechanisms for power sharing and conflict resolution like those found in autocratic political parties can likewise withstand challenges to its rule. Institutionalization in a military regime involves the establishment of formal or informal rules to regulate the power structure within the senior officer corps, including procedures to assign government appointments or functions to members of the armed forces. Institutionalization stabilizes the senior military leadership. With a set of rules governing intramilitary relations and relations between the military and the government, leadership succession, often a critical problem for any authoritarian regime, acquires some measure of predictability. In some sense, the roles of "military as a government" and the "military as an institution" are devolved, though not entirely separate, but with rules and procedures in place such that the armed forces maintains its hierarchical structure and cohesiveness.[72]

A good illustration of a military regime that was institutionalized with power-sharing and conflict-resolution features was Augusto Pinochet's Chile. Pinochet's military regime very early on instituted a quasi-constitutional framework to prevent the concentration of power in Pinochet's hands. This framework was essentially an intraservice compromise in response to Pinochet's attempt to use the army to concentrate power. To protect the autonomy of the respective military branches, the junta restricted Pinochet's power to dismiss

military commanders and more important, locked in place the existing composition of the junta by providing for the replacement of junta members only in the event of "death, resignation or any type of absolute impairment." Even in such circumstances, the remaining junta members, not Pinochet, would be the ones to designate a successor. Also included in the quasi-constitutional framework was the elimination of the mandatory retirement of junta members from the armed forces. These decrees essentially secured the collective character of the Chilean junta and ensured that key military commanders retained their own institutional channels for political power.[73]

Measuring Power-sharing Authoritarian Institutions

Power sharing is evident in authoritarian regimes with single parties when the organization serves as the main platform for access to government offices or other political offices in a country. A ruling council or a politburo will be evident and likewise functioning through multiple mid- to local-level organizations to distribute patronage and other spoils in the polity. More important, the party functions as the chief instrument for power sharing when members of its elites (or politburo) are picked and rotated according to routine party norms or procedures. In this regard, the party's norms and procedures serve as a bulwark against the concentration of political power, as these formal and informal codes of conduct prevent party leaders from appointing successors from their own family, clan, or tribe (table 2.1).[74]

In military regimes, there should be a procedure (or process) to rotate or deal with succession among the regime's highest officers and within the military hierarchy. Key in this regard would be the process for retiring from the armed forces. The head of the junta should be limited by rules preventing him from holding onto his leadership positions both within the military high command and as head of the regime indefinitely. The head of the junta (or regime) should also be guided by some norms or procedures for consulting with the officer corps when making key policy decisions. This process would require the maintenance of the armed forces' established rank structure and chain of command. If the head of the junta abrogates the armed forces' command structure, this act would be a good indication of an increasing concentration of political power within the military organization (table 2.1).

The power-sharing argument is summarized in figure 2.2. When dictators agree to share power and have in place institutions to credibly commit to do so

Table 2.1. Power-sharing authoritarian institutions

Form of power-sharing institution	Characteristics	Paradigmatic examples
Single party	Ruling council or politburo Main platform for access to political offices, spoils Functioning party hierarchies Rules and norms for rotation of power, succession, dispute resolution	Albania, 1946–91 China, 1949– Czechoslovakia, 1948–90 GDR, 1945–90 Hungary, 1949–90 Mexico, 1929–97 Poland, 1947–89 Singapore, 1965– Soviet Union, 1917–91 Taiwan, 1949–2000 Vietnam, 1954–
Military regime	Ruling council of senior officers or junta Rules and norms for rotation of power, succession, dispute resolution among senior officers Rank structure, chain of command remains intact in the armed forces	Argentina, 1955–58; 1966–73; 1976–83 Brazil, 1964–85 Burma, 1962– Chile, 1973–89 Ecuador, 1963–66; 1972–79 South Korea, 1961–87 Thailand, 1948–57; 1958–73; 1976–88; 2006–07

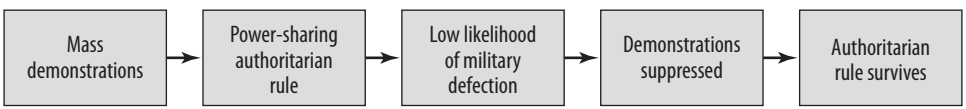

Figure 2.2. Power sharing and mass protests

and also provide for conflict resolution among the ruling elite, these practices enhance the durability of autocratic rule. These institutions create incentives for the ruling elite to remain invested in the longevity of the regime, even when there are popular challenges. However, when dictators concentrate political power, it makes it less likely that the ruling elite will commit to a system in which they have little chance of moving up the hierarchy. Elite defection

becomes a very real possibility. The discussion in the subsequent sections explains why this is so.

Personalism and Authoritarian Rule

What Is Personalism?

If power-sharing institutions engender elite loyalty in times of popular challenges, then their obverse, that is, personalistic dictatorial rule, exacerbate moral hazard problems among coalition partners and increase the likelihood of elite defection. Before explaining why this form of institutional design hurts the robustness of autocratic rule, I begin by defining and operationalizing what I mean by personalism. Unlike Barbara Geddes, I do not regard personalism as a regime type of its own. Instead, I treat personalism as a continuous trait that may be more or less evident in authoritarian institutions.[75] Personalism is the degree to which decision making and coercive power is concentrated in the hands of one person.[76] When institutions are personalized, an individual exercises power without restraint: he or she is unencumbered by rules; a political party; an institutionalized, military-based, decision-making process; an ideology; or other value systems.[77] In personalistic autocratic settings, members of the "minimum winning coalition," rather than ruling with and sharing power, become "administrators" who are fully subservient to the dictator.[78] To put it in another way, personalism depicts a situation where authoritarian power becomes "institutionally unlimitable," giving dictators the capacity to establish and modify rules without being restricted by a higher power or institution.[79] In the words of Montesquieu, personalism exists when "a single person directs everything by his will and caprice."[80]

Measuring Personalism

The degree of personalism in an authoritarian regime can be ascertained by examining two questions: Who is in charge? How is power exercised? The answer to the first question reveals the degree of access to executive power. In personalistic authoritarian institutions, access to executive power is limited and concentrated in the hands of a single person, typically a president, monarch, or military strongman. Crawford Young called this restricted feature "big man politics" in which the president, monarch, or general is "ruler for life" and seeks successive terms in office, sometimes until the end of his life.[81] Chehabi and Linz have also noted that in many instances when authoritarian

Table 2.2. Personalistic authoritarian institutions

Characteristics	Paradigmatic examples
Concentrated in one person Executive power unrestricted, discretionary Frequent purges, personnel rotations Abrogation of military hierarchy Creation of duplicate security forces Divide and rule	Dominican Republic, Rafael Trujillo, 1930–61 Haiti, Duvalier, 1957–86 Indonesia, Suharto, 1967–98 Iran, Shah Pahlavi, 1941–79 Iraq, Saddam Hussein, 1979–2003 Libya, Gaddafi, 1969–2011 Philippines, Marcos, 1965–86 Romania, Ceausescu, 1945–90 Uganda, Idi Amin, 1971–79

regimes become personalistic (what they label as sultanistic), dynastic succession becomes a common feature (table 2.2).[82]

For the second question, in personalistic authoritarian institutions, power is applied in an "unrestricted," discretionary manner, subject to the whims and fancies of the ruler.[83] Access to and control of perquisites such as economic spoils and political offices are also arbitrary and governed by the dictator's discretion. Barbara Geddes provides further measures to illustrate this discretionary nature of personalistic authoritarian institutions. For instance, in authoritarian regimes where a support party is present, the institutional setting is personalistic when the decisions regarding hiring, firing, and promotions within the party are the prerogative of the dictator. In a legislative context, we see personalism when parliaments or assemblies, which are dominated by the dictator's party or through executive ordinances, enact laws (or rubber-stamp them) mainly to enhance the power and longevity of the executive. Finally, personalism is evident when dissenting ruling elites (members of the army, bureaucracy, or the party) are frequently purged from power, imprisoned, forced into exile, or possibly even murdered (table 2.2).[84]

Personalism and Defection from Authoritarian Rule

Personalization and institutionalization are not antithetical in authoritarian regimes. Authoritarian leaders' despotic power (the power to decide) can be personalized, even as their infrastructural power (the power to implement) is institutionalized. Institutions to limit the dictator may falter or disappear while

institutions to curtail political opposition are formidable. Indeed, dictators have a variety of mechanisms at their disposal but perhaps the most prominent is the appointment of loyalists to top political positions while purging rivals. The power of political appointments, typically an institutional constraint in democracies, is now an institutional weapon. Personalization of institutions in this context implies not only high levels of command and control within the regime but also the extension and elaboration of the infrastructure to impose political control over society—the ruler's personal powers enhanced by his control of the state's administrative and security apparatuses.[85]

Because dictators in personalized authoritarian regimes frequently rely on personnel appointments to obtain personal domination, politics in these regimes are typically characterized by the frequent turnover of the ruling elite. Dictators do so to control and manage rent seeking and to prevent members of their minimum winning coalition from developing their own power bases. If certain members from the ruling elite become too powerful, dictators expel them from key government positions, the armed forces, and sometimes even send them into exile. The unrestrained nature of the dictator's actions and the inability of the minimum winning coalition to respond if they have been eliminated create a zero-sum, nonaccommodative pattern of politics where the ruling elites compete to become sycophantic lieutenants of the dictator. This happens because the ruling elite who are privileged enough to remain as "insiders" continue to enjoy preferential access to economic spoils and political offices. On the other hand, members of the minimum winning coalition who have been cast aside are left to languish in the political wilderness until the dictator forgives (if at all) and brings them back into the fold.[86]

Herein lays the inherent fragility of personalistic authoritarian institutions. The more certain members of the minimum winning coalition are excluded from the dictator's favor, the greater the likelihood they will seek alternatives to better their circumstances. Defections from the regime become more likely as these excluded elites have a stronger chance to be better off by supporting subversive coalitions rather than sticking with the dictator and continuing to fade away.[87] This increased likelihood of elite defection gives rise to the "revolutionary situation" Jeff Goodwin and Theda Skocpol observed when authoritarian leaders monopolize political power and economic spoils around themselves, a favored inner circle, or among family members.[88]

Personalism in the Armed Forces

I now turn to the main interest in this study, which are the armed forces. As I noted in the introductory chapter, the armed forces play a critical role in the genesis and preservation of authoritarian regimes. Militaries are often the foremost tool for dictatorial regime maintenance, as they monopolize the state's coercive resources with which they can, if willing, veto any popular challenge against autocratic rule. Theda Skocpol reminds us that among the ruling elite of a state, there is none more important than its coercive apparatus—the armed forces. She argues that for a state to survive, it must maintain a monopoly on this means of coercion. If the military remains coherent and effective, the state can survive significant illegitimacy and "value incoherence" even when there is a widespread sense of relative deprivation among its subjects.[89] Even the late Iraqi president Saddam Hussein saw the importance of the military to his survival: "If your dog is young and small, you can hit it and kick and punish it in various ways. But when it is big and strong you have to think twice before punishing it. It might bite you. So imagine what it is like to be surrounded by one hundred dogs."[90]

As we know from the study of civil-military relations, controlling politically exuberant militaries and ensuring they remain quiescent has been a perennial concern for all forms of governments, from the most democratic to the most autocratic.[91] The armed forces are part of a dictator's minimum winning coalition and therefore require institutions to manage them just like the civilian components of an authoritarian regime. The question then shifts to the form these institutions take.

Measuring Personalism in the Armed Forces

Personalism is evident in the armed forces when an autocrat makes decisions about military matters (including but not limited to issues about promotions, dismissals, budgets, spoils, deployment, and force structure) unilaterally and without input from the hierarchy of the armed forces.[92] With this unilateral decision-making capability, the dictator may also overturn decisions of senior military commanders. When a dictator promotes an officer or a group of officers in violation of the established armed forces' hierarchy or professional standards, this is another visible indicator of personalism within the military. Similarly, personalism is apparent when autocrats purge, deport, imprison, torture, or execute officers who disagree with the regime. It is also not uncommon

in instances of personalism when dictators are linked to strange disappearances and the creation of death squads that target the family and friends of treacherous military leaders.[93] Dissent may not be the only factor motivating the frequent changes of senior military officers. In personalistic regimes, autocrats often carry out intermittent "weeding" exercises in the military to remove officers or faction leaders that have either grown too powerful or popular, or those who have developed political interests that have diverged from the regime (table 2.2).[94]

The creation of a parallel military or a duplicate security force without the consent of or input from the armed forces hierarchy is a further indicator of personalism. Typically these parallel militaries serve as a counterweight to the regular armed forces and are used as a countercoup measure. This new armed force is devoted exclusively to the physical protection of the regime and their associates—they are essentially bodyguards who are stationed in close proximity of the leadership to prevent assassination attempts. The new organization is often not as large as the entire military nor is it designed to defeat the regular military in a full-blown civil war. Usually these forces are sufficiently well endowed militarily so that they can at least defeat disloyal forces in a standoff occurring at critical points within a state. In terms of the new forces' command structure, officers who lead this parallel organization answer only to the head of the state and bypass normal military chains of commands (table 2.2).[95]

Finally, "divide and rule" or "divide and conquer" is another common feature of personalism within the armed forces. Dictators use divide and rule to foster the fragmentation of the armed forces by exploiting existing cleavages within the officer corps. Autocrats employ this strategy to encourage competition in the upper echelon by playing rival officers or factions against one another. In doing so, the military is sufficiently split, so much so that segments of the officer corps are in constant competition with each other instead of plotting to overthrow the regime.[96] The logic of divide and rule is to prevent individuals or small power groups from linking up and becoming more powerful. To remove the dictator from power requires overcoming the collective action problem; divide-and-rule strategies exacerbate the collective action problem as autocrats ferment distrust and greater rivalry among competing groups or individuals within the military (table 2.2).[97]

Consequence of Personalism in the Armed Forces

Political struggles within the armed forces in personalistic authoritarian contexts mirror the zero-sum, nonaccommodative pattern of politics described earlier in this chapter. Indeed, when dictators rotate and purge the military organization's upper echelon (the armed forces' chiefs of staff, service chiefs, and divisional commanders), create parallel security forces outside the normal military hierarchy, and use divide-and-rule strategies, "winners" and "losers" are likely to emerge. Competition in this personalistic context among the armed forces upper echelon will be about who benefits from the dictator's discretionary maneuverings within the military organization. The dictator's favored officers are given free rein to bypass the armed forces chain of command and granted preferential access to key command positions, economic spoils, or other political offices. Out-of-favor military officers fade away into the backwoods and hope that autocrats will change their minds and make them their favored lieutenants again. The longer losers remain excluded from economic and political opportunities, the more strongly they will be motivated to oppose the dictators and their sycophantic lieutenants within the armed forces.

When officers become aware that they are being discriminated against vis-à-vis other segments within the military or security forces outside the regular armed forces through better pay, more privileges, or superior military equipment, these discrepancies can lead to covetousness and eventually a decline in morale. In addition, when dictators disregard standards of military professionalism and appoint colorless sycophantic individuals to top positions within the armed forces hierarchy, these loyalists, while safeguarding the authoritarian regime from revolt, often lack the capacity to motivate and inspire their subordinates. This undermines morale among the professional segments of the officer corps and damages unit cohesion as well. Politicized appointments and the use of divide-and-rule strategies could also compromise intra- and interservice cooperation by weakening personal bonds among the senior officer corps.[98]

It may appear strange that the logic of defection described here among disaffected senior military officers under personalistic authoritarian rule mirrors that of their civilian counterparts. There is a stylized view in the literature that military organizations are distinct from those found in the civilian realm—members of the armed forces imbue a singular-monolithic corporate ethos, seek to maintain the hierarchical command structure, adhere strongly to military discipline, and are committed to maintaining cohesion within the ranks,

especially within the officer corps.[99] This portrayal of armed forces operating under a different logic from their civilian counterparts is erroneous, more so in the case of armed forces under personalized dictatorial rule. I argue so for three reasons.

First, militaries in such polities are not unified organizations and hence insufficiently coherent to develop an autonomous corporate ethos that is distinct from the civilian realm. Armed forces in these political contexts are not the most reliable "institution to ensure political continuity in their countries." Neither are they the "bulwark of order and security in otherwise anarchical societies."[100] Personalized militaries bear little resemblance to the "modern complex organization model and are instead a coterie of distinct armed camps owing primary clientelistic allegiance to a handful of mutually competitive officers of different ranks seething with a variety of corporate, ethnic, and personal grievances."[101] We should not overestimate the "unitary" and "self-encapsulated" nature of such militaries and underemphasize "the degree to which they can be permeated and shaped by outside political pressures."[102] As the empirical chapters will reveal, the Indonesian and Philippine militaries were not isolated from Suharto's and Marcos's political machinations.

Second, in many developing countries, because joining the military has become the standard path to personal aggrandizement, acquisitive motives rather than the stylized martial beliefs (discipline, hierarchy, cohesion, among others) rank most highly in the officers' preferences. Consider two countries in Southeast Asia—Indonesia and Thailand. In Indonesia, appointments to key command positions within the military hierarchy and territorial command system (KOTER) during the Suharto era provided opportunities for officers to be involved in myriad commercial activities, both legal and illicit. This phenomenon persists to this very day.[103] In Thailand, cabinet and bureaucratic appointments held by senior military officers provide unfettered access to budgets, personnel, and commercial activities.[104] As Fred Riggs argues:

> Board memberships [of businesses] were utilized by members of the Thai elite to enhance their income, not to augment their power. They gained power in a different way, primarily with reference to bureaucratic resources at their command, including military forces. They were invited to join business boards in order to extend the mantle of their protection to the economic activities concerned. . . . Whereas the Chinese leaders had to rely for instance upon their ability to pay, so that their membership on boards of directors could be taken as a direct measure of their rela-

> tive power, the Thai leaders depended on direct forms of bureaucratic control, so that their board memberships were a consequence, not a cause of their power.[105]

When acquisitive motives in the armed forces become the raison d'être for becoming a soldier, professionalism of the officer corps deteriorates and nothing "can fully insulate a military establishment from tension in the polity at large."[106]

Military professionalism in this context is defined as a commitment to one's vocation and is manifested through specialized expertise and competence (military training), formal license (the commission), and corporateness. To inculcate expertise, competence, and corporateness, professional armed forces must have the autonomy to decide on issues of military strategy, requirements for recruitment into military service and the officer corps, the criteria governing promotions, and the basis for assignments to command positions.[107] Having the latitude to decide on personnel appointments is especially important as the presence or absence of bureaucratic norms for promotion and assignment could determine to what extent civilian leaders could manipulate military command appointments for their own political ends.[108] Also the military cannot have any functional rivals, such as paramilitaries or militias, which sufficiently well resourced, can threaten the military's sole responsibility for national security.[109] Finally, appraisal of performance as a military professional can only be validated by one's colleagues and not be those outside of the organization.[110]

To speak of military professionalism or a military logic that is distinct from that of the civilian realm in personalized dictatorships is a misnomer. The traits discussed above are not evident in personalized armed forces. The military's expertise and its competence are often transgressed on in personalized authoritarian regimes, and none more evident than in the promotions and military assignments. As the subsequent chapters on Indonesia and the Philippines will detail, Suharto and Marcos bypassed professional standards and based appointments instead on favoritism and loyalty.

Mass Protests and Personalism

The implications of personalism for authoritarianism are therefore evident; it shakes the foundations of dictatorial rule as it increases the likelihood of defection from the regime. The personalization of authoritarian rule creates winners and losers, ferments zero-sum competition, and encourages losers to seek alternatives to their status quo. The impact of personalism on authoritarian politics is summarized in figure 2.3.

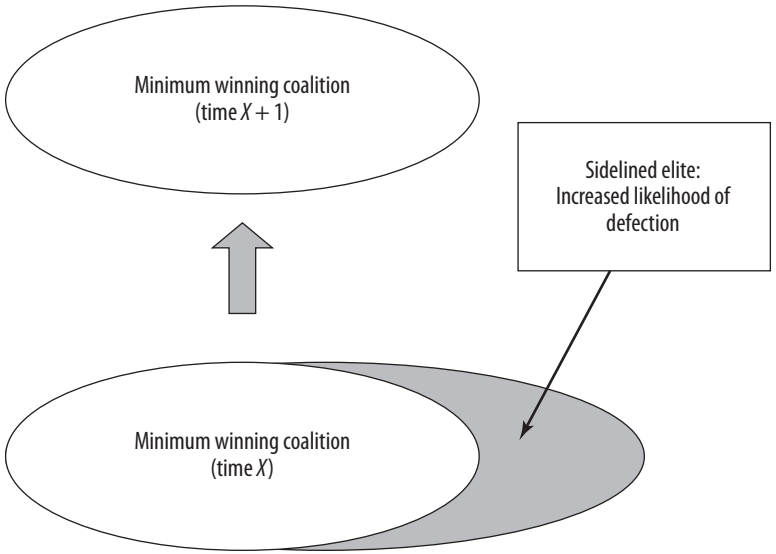

Figure 2.3. Personalism and elite defection

Yet personalism in the armed forces does not inevitably lead to the military siding with protestors when mass movements emerge; nor does it automatically result in the collapse of the regime. Many personalistic regimes around the world, including monarchies, remain fairly resilient to popular revolts. This is because, as Mark Lichbach has cogently argued, individuals with the most reason to rebel or ferment a revolution almost always do not do so. Lichbach, quoting Mancur Olson, notes: "If most human beings would really rather be dead than red, then no society would be red. But in the real world *most individuals care much more about their own welfare and survival* than about public policy or the ideology of the society."[111] Indeed, rebellions are often short of rebels, protests lack protestors, and revolutions are missing revolutionaries. Active dissidents constitute a small minority in all types of collective dissent. This is the basis of the rebels' collection action problem as competition and not cooperation is the norm even among dissidents.[112]

"Losers" intending to defect must take into consideration likely counteractions from the dictator. The dictator will certainly not allow a mutiny to occur unchallenged. Autocrats will likely take forceful action to nip any revolt in its embryonic stages. The possibility of a counterstrike by the dictator and his loyal lieutenants is by no means a small consideration. Autocrats, with their

preponderance of executive power and their control over the state's financial, monitoring, and coercive capabilities, have the balance of power (resources) on their side. Dictators with control over the country's coffers can continue to pay a "loyalty premium"—offering economic incentives and political offices to ensure that significant portions of the polity remain steadfast to the regime.[113] Many authoritarian regimes can still rely on their internal security agencies to monitor the attitudes and activities of its people and arrest and interrogate individuals suspected of subversive activities.[114] To prevail in any struggle with the regime, disgruntled members of the ruling coalition must have sufficient resources to deal with counteractions from proregime segments and also find resolutions to the rebel's dilemma previously mentioned (collective action problem). How can members of a sidelined ruling elite defect and succeed at doing so without committing suicide?

Mass Protests as Political Opportunity Structures

When popular demonstrations against authoritarian rule emerge, this eruption of mass discontent presents the opportunity for elite defection to take place. The effect of personalism in creating winners and losers within the authoritarian regime, and the emergence of mass protests, gives rise to what social movement theorists term political opportunity structures. The concept of political opportunities refers to the dimensions of the political environment that provide incentives for collective action by affecting people's expectations for success or failure.[115] The instability of political alignments within the ruling elite, which often results in the outbreak of intra-elite conflict and division, are political opportunities which "encourage outbreaks of contention."[116]

It is in moments of public outpouring of resentment that the excluded military elite realize that there are segments of the opposition they can tap into to successfully defect. The excluded ruling elite have to seek resources and support from outside the regime because the zero-sum nature of intraregime contestations polarizes the elite and creates a winner-take-it-all power struggle. This severe schism eliminates any chance that moderate regime stalwarts from either side (winners or losers) can come to a compromise or an agreement that is amenable to either camp. Instead, the struggle between the winners and losers will likely unfold along a path of escalating confrontations until one side capitulates decisively.[117] Losers in the intraregime struggle hence have little choice but to seek a pact or support from forces within or outside the state to overcome their rivals.

Pacts or concords are defined as interim arrangements or agreements that may be formal or informal between actors who seek to "limit the agenda of policy choice, share proportionately in the distribution of benefits, and restrict the participation of outsiders in the decision-making."[118] These agreements are concluded so that the "rules of governance" can be attained on the basis of "mutual guarantees for the 'vital interests' of those involved," in this case, the disaffected members of the regime and the opposition.[119]

The appearance of popular discontent in personalistic authoritarian regimes helps create conditions for a concord that betters the political status for military losers in the regime, key segments of the domestic opposition, and possibly even foreign parties. For a start, military elite who have been sidelined by the dictator now have an incentive to come together because of this common grievance, more so with the veneer of mass discontent to support their claims. This coming together of erstwhile military loyalists may be difficult initially because of the earlier struggle for a finite pool of spoils, which is typical of any authoritarian setting.

Second, military losers can now use this visible manifestation of popular discontent to draw support from outside the regime to move against the dictator. Two sets of actors are important in this regard—key segments of the domestic opposition and foreign countries. Mass protests offer an opportunity for the disgruntled elite to work with these actors for mutual benefit. There are several reasons why.

First, the sidelined elite could rely on the domestic opposition to safeguard them from possible regime counteractions. The alignment of components of the armed forces and former civilian regime stalwarts with the opposition increases the number who oppose the regime, creates a moral force for change, and turns the movement into a "human shield." It amplifies the difficulty proregime military officers or other security apparatuses will now have in security operations to suppress the demonstrations and apprehend the disgruntled elite, as the numbers they will have to contend with would have increased. Also this "new alliance" creates another obstacle for members of the armed forces who may now be hesitant to use force on their comrades and former civilian leaders—the concerns of a full-blown civil war come to the fore if proregime military personnel decide to forcefully put down the rebellion against the regime.

Second, popular demonstrations against authoritarian regimes may serve as a warning for the dictator's remaining lieutenants to begin thinking about po-

litical self-preservation, especially if they wish to have a postauthoritarian future. It would be prudent for the autocrat's lingering loyalists to get ahead of the curve by siding with the domestic opposition rather than risk getting swept away in a political convulsion. Seeking a bargain with the domestic opposition reduces the possibility of the opposition resorting to revolutionary or violent means to pursue their goals.[120]

Third, the emergence of mass demonstrations could be the "opening" the domestic political opposition is looking for. As Philippe Schmitter argues, the domestic political opposition would find it easier to appeal to these frustrated military officers and win them to their cause, particularly that of regime change.[121] In many respects, the disgruntled erstwhile elite are the "swingmen," or "pivotal elites," in an authoritarian transition whose support can hasten the process of political liberalization.[122]

Why would the domestic opposition want to negotiate, much less support, components of the authoritarian regime who were once the dictator's lieutenants and also the main perpetrators of repression? The main incentive for opposition elites is they will have a better chance of overthrowing an authoritarian regime if they have pressure from within. As O'Donnell and Schmitter note, "No transition can be forced purely by the opponents against a regime which maintains the cohesion, capacity, and disposition to apply repression."[123]

In addition, if the domestic opposition forms an alliance with the losers of the intraregime power struggle, this may be an opportunity to get a seat at the decision-making table after autocratic rule has collapsed. Though many reformers would prefer to topple their oppressive rulers rather than share power with them, most successful authoritarian transitions have occurred as a result of pragmatism rather than revolutionary fervor. Insisting on wholesale regime change is more likely to lead to repression than compromise, even if the opposition's would-be collaborators represent portions of the ancien régime.[124]

A major compromise that the domestic opposition may have to concede to the sidelined elite would be guarantees for their political future and, for the senior officers in the armed forces who defect, protection of their individual and the military's corporate economic and political interests. While these concessions may seem unpalatable to staunch democratizers, the larger picture should be kept in mind—if the domestic opposition comes to an agreement with segments of the losers of the ancien régime, they will be accepting low payoffs (incomplete political liberalization) with high probabilities. The alternative course of action offers high payoffs (comprehensive political liberalization)

with very low probabilities (in the event that they actually succeed in overthrowing the authoritarian regime).[125]

While the domestic opposition and the losers have strong reasons to stand together, the dictator's sycophants (winners) are unlikely to seek to alter the political status quo. Recruited, sustained, and prevailing over their rivals with the dictator's material and political inducements, these sycophants often lack an independent political base and hence are dependent on the dictator for their survival. As these winners face the prospect of losing everything should autocratic rule collapse, they have little choice but to stand with the dictator.[126]

Who or what segments of the domestic opposition would the losers seek out? They should seek out elites from the domestic opposition who have acknowledged authority in segments of civil society. These include leaders of labor organizations, political parties, ethnic and religious groups, and student movements.[127] Such individuals are important because they could make "substantial political trouble for high officials" and affect political outcomes significantly if their support is not forthcoming.[128]

Why Is a Pact Necessary?

Although domestic political elites play an important role in the transition process, spontaneous and uncoordinated popular protests also pose a major challenge to authoritarian regimes. Unless mass demonstrations are directed by acknowledged leaders (in this case the domestic political elite), such outbursts have usually dissipated or were promptly suppressed.[129] A pact among all the major parties that can influence the outcome of a political transition cannot be overstated. While the large-scale vociferous mass mobilization of people could be an "efficacious instrument for bringing down a dictatorship," controlling large swaths of people after an emotionally charged and sometimes violent popular uprising can be difficult.[130] Unmanaged, popular demonstrations can turn into a self-reinforcing cycle of mass action and state counter-reaction—barrage and counterbarrage of rocks, clubs, tear gas, and rubber bullets—possibly further polarizing the political situation. Without a grand bargain among the major parties a political stalemate or even a no-holds barred civil conflict is a possibility.[131]

Pacts mitigate the ambiguity and flux inherent during the collapse of authoritarian rule. O'Donnell and Schmitter suggest that transitions typically occur in circumstances of "extraordinary uncertainty" with "numerous of surprises and difficult dilemmas."[132] In this transition phase, the actors involved,

the dictator, ruling elite, and mass opposition, operate with incomplete information, finding it difficult in particular, to know who their supporters will be and which groups will be allies or opponents.[133] The transition phase is akin to a "thaw" where civil society, sensing the loosening grip of the regime, uses this opportunity for even greater mobilization. The emergence of mass protests against an autocratic regime is emblematic of this "thaw." And when certain members of the minimum winning coalition indicate their willingness to defect, their decision further emboldens civil society. The rapidity of mass mobilization, however, occurs in an institutional vacuum where the closed character of authoritarian rule precludes a venue or forum in which the opposition can articulate their views and interests in a coherent and nonviolent fashion.[134] It follows that in moving from one equilibrium to another—from one regime type to another—something needs to be in place to reduce the uncertainty and provide information between actors to facilitate the successful emergence of a postauthoritarian arrangement.

In this context of uncertainty, for the disaffected elite seeking to defect, a key consideration then would be their security. What fate befalls me when I desert the regime? Will the opposition and their supporters embrace me? Or will I be exiled, imprisoned, or even executed?[135] Revolutionary outcomes in which punitive actions against the ruling elite could unfold, regardless of the complicity in prior repressive activities, is thus a real fear for would-be defectors. Concords in this case, assuage the defecting elite that the "threat from below" will be contained and moderated, and that there will be guarantees extended to the elite (especially to the military), that their interests would be secured in the postauthoritarian setting.[136] Indeed, if the "losers" who defect have guarantees that they will retain their economic and political interests and that they will not meet the same fate as despots like the Shah of Iran who languished in exile or Nicolae Ceauşescu who was executed, the old elite, assured of their fates, could in the foreseeable future undertake further political liberalization.

Consider the differing outcomes of the recent popular uprisings in Egypt and Libya. The initial standoff between the Libyan rebels and the pro-Gaddafi's forces offers an example of a mass revolt that unfolded without a pact. This was so despite several attempts by Western countries such as France and the United States to tip the balance in favor of the rebels' Transitional National Council (TNC). There was little success in getting Libya's powerful tribes or other key members of Gaddafi's inner circle to defect.[137] In fact, military leaders who had

changed sides and joined the TNC could actually have been competing with each other rather than cooperating in their efforts to unseat Gaddafi.[138] In contrast, in Egypt opposition efforts to reach a grand bargain between themselves and the armed forces had been apparent fairly early on during the uprising. Opposition groups first agreed to coalesce their support behind former International Atomic Energy Agency chief Mohamed El-Baradei.[139] Talks to overhaul Egypt's political system and an orderly transition of power subsequently began between key opposition groups, including the Muslim Brotherhood and Vice President Omar Suleiman.[140]

The contrasting fortunes of the popular movements in Egypt and Libya illustrate the importance of pacts in furthering military defection and eventually the collapse of dictatorial rule. These grand bargains also serve two additional functions during popular revolts when the situation could become emotionally charged and potentially violent. First, pacts that involve the major stakeholders (military and civilian elite, domestic opposition, or even key foreign states) can help mitigate the polarizing tendencies in such contexts. Leaders of the domestic opposition, for instance, can rein in their supporters (especially those in the streets), thereby reducing the likelihood emotions and actions will worsen the situation.

Second and more important, pacts among the key parties can further stabilize the political situation and provide a way forward for the political transition by creating a "procedural consensus." Pacts do so by reducing uncertainty and providing information, however tentative it may be, to the actors involved as they move from the old order to the new.[141] Pacts do so because they act as the preliminary "rules of the game" that guide the dynamics of the transition, laying down arrangements between the actors with uncertain power. It defines who can "play in the political game," the criteria that determines the winners and losers, and the limits to be placed on the issues at stake. Postauthoritarian consolidation occurs when contending social classes and political groups accept a set of formal or informal rules that determine "who gets what, where, when and how."

In short, with a concord or a pact in place, the would-be defecting ruling elite and the political opposition credibly commit to a postauthoritarian setting where power is shared and political change occurs but done so via a "soft-landing" without the fear of reprisals. With these bargains in place, the defecting elite and political opposition can settle into predictable positions and compete according to these agreed rules.[142] These rules of the game could even serve as a basis to encourage more communication and compromises

among the stakeholders, namely, the disgruntled civilian and military elites, the domestic opposition, and interested foreign parties.[143] Clearly these pacts are mainly short-term remedies. At some point after the autocratic regime has collapsed, these parties will need to work out a more permanent political solution, particularly in the area of power sharing.[144]

While the introductory chapter highlighted the central role of domestic political elites and the importance of pacting in the dismantling of autocratic rule, the earlier literature emphasized only the actions of civilian political leaders (soft- and hard-liners) in the ancien régime—how their interests and actions shaped the subsequent negotiations and pacts that eventually led to the unraveling of authoritarian rule. My analysis here suggests instead that the willingness of the two sets of actors, one in power (the "losers" from the civilian and military ruling elite) and the other seeking power (the domestic opposition), to cooperate are strongly influenced by the appearance of mass protests. Mass demonstrations are a symptom of widespread dissatisfaction with the regime, but they can also bring to light the divisions within the civilian components of the authoritarian regime and the armed forces.[145] The coming together of disgruntled members of the ancien régime and the domestic opposition is the consequence of dissatisfaction stemming from increasing personalism of authoritarian rule and the autonomous surfacing of civil society. Popular mobilization signals to the losers of intraregime struggle the possibility of cooperation with social forces or groups outside the authoritarian regime, which could then change the relations of forces within the regime to their advantage; visible splits within the authoritarian regime indicate to civil society that political space may have opened up for autonomous organization. Popular mobilization and splits within the dictatorship thus feed off each other.[146]

Foreign Sources of Political Support

Apart from domestic sources of support, the disgruntled authoritarian elite could also tap the assistance of foreign states, particularly those that can exercise leverage over the dictator. Important in this regard are large states that supply sizeable foreign economic and military assistance. Authoritarian regimes of small, aid-dependent states are more vulnerable to external pressures than large countries with substantial military or economic power. Foreign countries can exercise even more leverage over authoritarian regimes if there are no regional powers that can provide alternative sources of economic, military, or diplomatic support to the autocrats.[147]

Foreign countries can use this leverage to approbate the disgruntled authoritarian elites' rebellious actions against the dictator. In addition, if the dictator insists on forcefully suppressing dissidents, foreign allies who support the losers from the ruling elite can exert pressure through positive conditionality (suspending membership in regional or international organizations), punitive sanctions (withdrawal of military and other forms of assistance, trade sanctions), and the withdrawal of formal international recognition of the government as punishment.[148] The dictator's continued political survival would be seriously curtailed as the leader would no longer have access to resources for patronage and would be ostracized by the international community.[149]

For foreign states, supporting the losers from the ruling elite and opposition movement against dictatorial rule might be a viable way to achieve foreign policy objectives. The incumbent dictatorship could have neglected or reneged on agreements with foreign governments while the elites from the domestic political opposition and losers in the armed forces are more amenable to these policies.

How would we know if the domestic opposition or foreign states support the rebellion and vice versa? One can look for several indicators. First, support is likely to be more forthcoming if there is a mutuality of political interests and if the parties are part of each others' social networks. Scholars studying social networks have demonstrated that credible commitments can be brokered if actors are part of a social network. Social networks can foster commitment by shaping expectations about the behaviors and intentions of its members.[150] Second, we should also observe a flurry of meetings or communications (which may be clandestine) between the erstwhile elite and the domestic political opposition. Third, there are likely to be statements or actions demonstrating assurances, conciliation, and compromises among parties. Fourth, in instances of foreign support for the losers, foreign states could put pressure on the authoritarian regime to leave office through their leaders, ambassadors, diplomatic officials, or other emissaries.[151]

Military Defection from Authoritarian Rule

As domestic and foreign support for the losers become more evident and as opposition for the dictator increases, regime stalwarts, especially those in the armed forces, outside this gathering coalition against the regime may find themselves on the losing side if they continue supporting the regime. To understand the consequence of this turning tide on popular demonstrations, it is

these stalwarts within the armed forces that we must now focus our attention on. At this point, it is now likely that even the staunchest regime loyalists shift allegiances when they see that the dictator's grip on power is tottering. Political actors want to be on the right side of history. If the loyalists' support was self-serving to begin with, their subsequent move away from the authoritarian regime would likewise reflect this self-interested imperative of self-preservation. Indeed, hitherto proregime military officers would be compelled to switch sides for self-serving reasons: to ensure that they do not lose out when the political pie (in the form of command appointments or access to material benefits) is divided after the end of the political crisis. The support the losers obtain from key domestic and foreign allies is crucial as it sparks defections within the armed forces and overturns the advantage their rivals and the authoritarian regime had prior to the onset of the popular demonstrations. The same dynamic can be seen in the civilian portions of the government as well. When civilian loyalists see the tide turning, defecting may be the only way to ensure their survival.

The dynamic here is akin to the tipping or cascade effects David Laitin refers to.[152] In other words, transitions from authoritarian rule in this circumstance can be understood as the rapid movement from one power equilibrium to another in which a majority of political forces moves from one coalition to another. The authoritarian incumbents and the winners in the military initially had a winning majority, but they eventually lose this advantage because of defections of key elements to the opposition.[153]

One should be mindful that there will be time lags between the offering of foreign assistance and the impact of the growing domestic and foreign support for the losers that will trickle down the military chain of command. These delays explain why there may be pockets of suppression of the popular protests initially. This crackdown is short lived and does not quell the political crisis. When support is established within a military organization for the rebellious officers, the armed forces' withdrawal of support for authoritarian rule is sustained, widespread, and unequivocal.

There may also be interaction effects between the three events—foreign and domestic support and elite defections. Elite defections and domestic support for the losers may be forthcoming because there is foreign support or acquiescence, and vice versa. However, for the purposes of parsimony, my argument suggests that either domestic or foreign support is sufficient to tip the balance of power in favor of the losers.

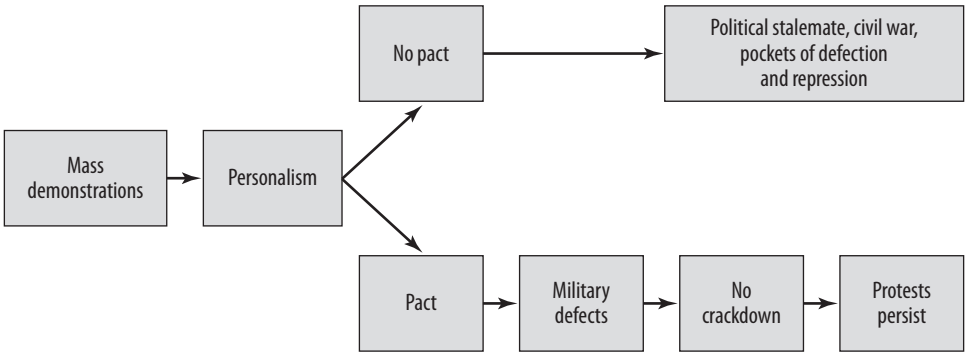

Figure 2.4. Personalism and mass protests

The impact of personalism on authoritarian institutions, particularly within the military, is deleterious for the longevity of dictatorial rule when mass protests erupt. Personalism creates the conditions for elite defection, and the onset of popular movements provides an opportunity for this desertion to succeed with a concord between disgruntled civilian and military elites, key members of the domestic opposition and foreign parties (fig. 2.4).

Why Do Dictators Personalize Their Rule?

If power-sharing institutions help promote the longevity of dictatorial rule, why then do certain dictatorships fail to develop these institutions but instead move down the path of personalizing their rule? As others have previously argued, authoritarian regimes often go through developmental stages, beginning first with some semblance of collegial and devolved power-sharing institutional configuration but later evolving into a more centralized, narrowly based type of institutional structure, culminating eventually with the personalization of autocratic power.[154] We should remind ourselves again that even the most personalistic dictatorships do not begin as hierarchical entities. Beginning first outside the power structures of state, individuals intending to seize political power frequently do so as a group. During this initial quest for political power, particularly for those engaged in an armed struggle, members of this seizure group must have some autonomy and discretion to make decisions in the field and to respond to whatever crises that might arise. The need for initiative during this early period of struggle for political power limits the amount of centralization and hierarchy within the seizure group. While greater

centralization and hierarchy within this revolutionary movement helps maintain discipline and secrecy—elements crucial for revolutionary groups to survive in fluid political environments—too much centralization is simply not possible nor ideal. First, seizure-group leaders cannot demand too much obedience and subordination from members because doing so may lead to desertion, leaving the would-be seizure group too small to accomplish its task. An illustration of this was the fate of Western communist parties when the Comintern in Moscow rigidly controlled their activities. Second, too much centralization and hierarchy leave seizure groups vulnerable to decapitation. The rapid disintegration of Peru's Sendero Luminoso after the capture of its leader Abimael Guzmán demonstrates this possibility.[155]

In view of these factors, the selection mechanisms that favor collegial and power-sharing traits are always at work on groups aspiring to seize political power, particularly so in revolutionary groups that are engaged in long struggles and rely on the population for resources and political support. This is in contrast to military coup plotters, who have weapons and the critical manpower (soldiers) they need for putsches and can therefore seize power with less popular support. While plotters of military putsches can survive for some time without popular support and even take power sometimes, decapitation is still a danger within such groups. The larger point here is that leaders of all seizure groups, in order to maintain the minimum support needed for effective action, must consult and be responsive to the ideas and interests of a larger collective. Leaders of seizure groups have little ability beyond moral authority and the force of personality to enforce discipline and ensure compliance. In addition, leaders of these seizure groups have no police apparatus at their disposal and little ability to coerce recalcitrants into submission; disgruntled revolutionaries can choose to leave the enterprise with little cost. The bottom line here is that seizure groups who wish to succeed must be, to some extent, responsive to popular aspirations. While these groups do not need the majority's support, they have to win over fairly significant segments of the populace to draw on manpower and other resources, particularly if the struggle is prolonged.[156]

Therefore, to coalesce some semblance of popular support to displace incumbents, seizure groups are more likely to succeed when they can do two things: one, articulate an attractive and intelligible ideology to make credible promises of a better life after the transition; and two, choose a moment to intervene when disgust with incumbents has spread through much of the populace.

When these two conditions are met, seizure groups can attract broad, though often temporary, mass support. And because of these two factors, we can observe that most authoritarian regimes often begin with some semblance of popular support.[157]

Once in power, two trends become evident—the downsizing of the original seizure group and the distancing from the initial promises for a better life. The new ruling elite often start by excluding (and sometimes executing) previously valuable "heroes of the revolution." This is so because, following the successful conquest of power, the hitherto outsiders now newly empowered can use their authority to develop new bases of popular support rather than relying on the original members of the seizure group to succeed. That is why leadership struggles are commonplace at the center of new authoritarian governments during the first years in office. Elites who prevail from the early power struggle then begin to concentrate vast resources and powers in their own hands. They will also try to eliminate potential challenges from society. Indeed, instead of actually responding to popular aspirations that aided their capture of political power, these new rulers may try to reshape the economy and politics in ways most ordinary people oppose. Ideology and policy become dogmatic and opportunistic. One can then observe why, as the new authoritarian rulers try to consolidate their hold on power, the previously collegial and broad-based power sharing structure of the initial seizure group becomes more centralized and hierarchical, delimiting points of access for both the elite and members of society.[158]

The logic of minimum winning coalitions emerges—dictators form minimum winning coalitions rather than larger ones as each member of the coalition can get more for him- or herself if the number among whom the benefits have to be spread is as small as possible.[159] The coalition surrounding the dictator has a strong incentive to keep itself as small as it can while still surviving in power; the smaller the number of individuals to receive distributive goods, the more each can have. As such, when the inner circle narrows, it becomes surer of its control, and less support is needed to maintain control than to seize it.[160]

In other words, as an authoritarian regime evolves, the personalization of its institutions occurs because dictators desire to monopolize their policy discretion and move away from the internal struggles, rivalries, and factionalism that could emerge within their regimes.[161] Autocrats may also want to preserve their policy discretion so that they can use these powers strategically in the future to attract political support. While the impulse for dictators to consoli-

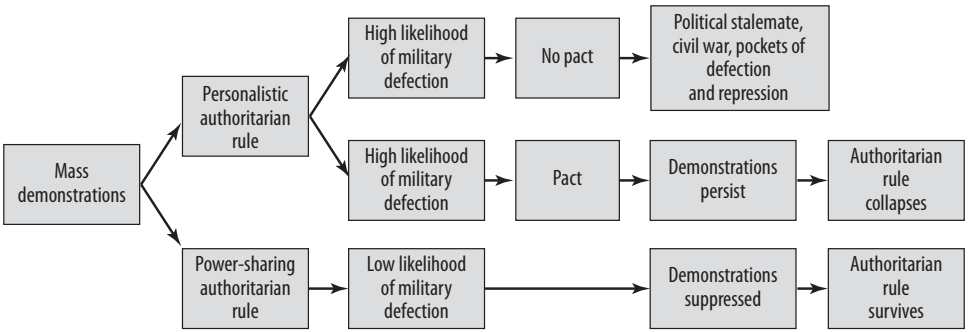

Figure 2.5. The military and mass protests

date personal power is not universal, it appears to be rather common as authoritarianism becomes more entrenched. Barbara Geddes has noticed in her study of more than 170 post-1945 dictatorial regimes that leaders of these regimes often began as members of collegial consultative institutions but later evolved into an arrangement in which power was always handed over to a successor selected by the original rulers.[162]

Conclusion

This chapter has laid out the book's theoretical argument (fig. 2.5). It explains how and under what conditions military defection from authoritarian rule is likely to occur when popular protests emerge. The theoretical argument makes two claims. First, it argues that if dictatorial regimes have power-sharing institutions, this is likely to keep the ruling elite, including the armed forces, invested in the continuation of the regime and consequently help promote the longevity of dictatorial rule, even when mass protests threaten the regime. Second, if authoritarian institutions are personalistic, the ruling coalition is unlikely to remain loyal when faced with popular challenges. The next three chapters will illustrate the theoretical argument in personalistic (Philippines and Indonesia) and power-sharing (Burma and China) institutional authoritarian settings.

CHAPTER THREE

Personalism in the Philippines

The Fall of Marcos (1986)

The Twilight of the Marcos Presidency

Popular resentment toward the regime of President Ferdinand Marcos can be traced to the assassination of Benigno "Ninoy" Aquino. Aquino, a long-time political opponent of Marcos, had returned to the Philippines from exile in the United States in August 1983 but was assassinated as soon as he left the aircraft on his arrival in Manila. Aquino's assassination brought about a shift from passive acceptance of the Marcos regime to active political opposition. The world got a glimpse of the growing antipathy to the Marcos regime when more than 2 million people marched along the twenty-four-kilometer route of Ninoy Aquino's funeral procession and turned this moment of grief into a platform for an outpouring of anti-Marcos sentiment.[1] This turnout was unprecedented: the numbers far exceeded Pope John Paul II's visit in 1981, General Douglas MacArthur's return to the Philippines after World War II, and President Ramon Magsaysay's funeral in 1957.[2]

Aquino's assassination was an "eye opener" and "jarred the sensibilities of the people."[3] It became a rallying cry to galvanize the opposition.[4] A wave of antigovernment protests ensued in the subsequent months. These demonstrations were manifestly different from those prior to the declaration of martial law.[5] The protests now involved a broad spectrum of the Philippine citizenry, including members of the middle class and elite, and occurred in far larger numbers. One of the largest demonstrations took place on September 21, 1983, the twelfth anniversary of the declaration of martial law, when some 250,000 to 500,000 people turned up at the Liwasang Bonifacio.[6]

The public backlash in the wake of Aquino's assassination left American officials concerned and foreign investors anxious. Political opposition in the

country drove economic difficulties far beyond manageable levels. International bankers reported that capital flight amounting close to US$500 million had departed the Philippines following Aquino's assassination.[7] In the words of then minister of defense, Juan Ponce Enrile, "on their own, capital flight and mounting deficits were nothing, but because of the assassination of Ninoy Aquino . . . these problems were exacerbated."[8] In March 1984, President Ronald Reagan alluded to the worrying situation in the Philippines: "Continued movement toward fully functioning democratic institutions appropriate to the Philippines is the key to the rebuilding of both economic and political confidence after the difficulties of the last months."[9]

Throughout 1985, several key American officials visited Manila to assess for themselves the severity of the deteriorating situation. Senator Paul Laxalt, Reagan's personal emissary, and CIA Director William Casey, on separate visits, raised concerns about the crisis of confidence in the Marcos government. Both suggested that Marcos call a snap election "to silence the opposition and defuse the crisis."[10] In November 1985, George Will, host of the ABC television show *This Week with David Brinkley* prodded Marcos:[11]

> There's a perception here that your problems derive from the fact that your mandate is gone, whatever it once was. . . . And there are some people here who wonder if it is not possible and if you would not be willing to move up the election date, the better to renew your mandate soon, say within the next eight months or so. Is that possible, that you could have an election earlier than scheduled?

Marcos retorted:

> Well I understand the opposition has been asking for an election. In answer to that regard, I announce that I am ready to call a snap election perhaps earlier than eight months, perhaps in three months or less than that. . . . You are all invited to come, and we will invite members of the American Congress to please come and just see what is happening here.

Marcos's announcement roused the fragmented opposition and coalesced their support behind Corazon Aquino.

On February 7, 1986, election day, Marcos responded to the massive outpouring of support for Corazon Aquino by engaging in probably the worst instance of electoral fraud in Filipino history. Marcos used every possible trick in the book to ensure victory—the switching of voters' lists, vote buying, intimidation,

ballot box stuffing and stealing, and even murder.[12] Marcos's attempts to cheat himself to victory this time round were met with outcry at home and abroad. As the votes were being tallied, computer operators from the Commission on Elections, the government's official vote-counting agency, staged a walk-out claiming that the returns were being falsified in Marcos's favor. Visiting US senator Richard Lugar supported these accusations calling the electoral returns "managed."[13] On February 15, the Catholic Bishops' Conference of the Philippines issued a statement condemning the elections as fraudulent and declared "a government that assumes or retains power through fraudulent means has no moral basis." The bishops refused to "recognize Marcos" and urged all Filipino Catholics to resist Marcos's continued rule. Cardinal Jaime Sin, the head of the Philippine Catholic Church, reiterated the church's stance: "The people have spoken or have tried to. Despite the obstacles thrown in the way of speaking freely, we the bishops believe that on the basis on our assessment as pastors of the recently conducted polls, what they attempted to say is clear enough."[14] The following day, Corazon Aquino addressed a rally of more than half a million people gathered in Manila's Luneta Park and claimed victory in the presidential election. She called for a series of strikes and boycotts to bring a nonviolent end to the Marcos presidency.[15]

Military Withdrawal of Support for Marcos

On the evening of February 22, 1986, Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile and Lt. Gen. Fidel Ramos, vice chief of staff of the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) and concurrently commander of the Philippine Constabulary (PC) and Integrated National Police (INP), announced their withdrawal of support for President Marcos. With about two battalions of troops, they barricaded themselves inside the Ministry of Defense in Camp Aguinaldo and the Philippine Constabulary-Integrated National Police Headquarters in Camp Crame. Ramos said during the press conference announcing his and Enrile's defection that "we do not recognize his [Marcos] proclaimed presidency and the rest of his government as representing the people. They are not to me the duly constituted authorities of this country under the Constitution."[16] Their defection, Ramos highlighted, was a response to growing popular resentment against Marcos's rule. In responding to this widespread antipathy, Ramos urged "the Armed Forces of the Philippines and the Integrated National Police to disobey all illegal orders of whoever is giving them. I consider any assault on the peo-

ple, the firing upon unarmed and unprotected civilians as partaking of illegal orders."[17] In the late hours of February 22, Cardinal Jaime Sin, made an appeal over the Catholic station Radio Veritas for people to support the mutineers at Camps Crame and Aguinaldo. Crowds soon converged on Epifanio de los Santos Avenue (EDSA), the thoroughfare in front of the gates of Camps Crame and Aguinaldo, to protect the military camps from the anticipated pro-Marcos counter-response.

The next day on February 23, officers from the Enrile-Ramos camp again urged their colleagues to disavow Marcos. Leaflets were printed and dropped in known encampments of Marcos loyalists in the armed forces. The appeal, titled *A Call to All Officers and Men of the AFP and the INP*, read:

> We are calling all officers and men of the AFP and the INP to examine their conscience and be guided by their conviction.
>
> If they believe in what they stand for, we ask them to join us. We ask them to bring their troops with them and join us here in Camp Aguinaldo or Camp Crame and if they should decide otherwise, we ask them to stay put and not obey illegal and immoral orders.
>
> —From all the thousands of officers and men committed to fight for truth, righteousness and justice and are now gathered at Camp Aguinaldo and Camp Crame.[18]

Marcos responded swiftly to quell the rebellion and the gathering mass on EDSA. Acting through Gen. Fabien Ver, the AFP chief of staff, the armed forces was placed on highest military alert soon after Ramos and Enrile's announcement. Then fearing that the rebellion would escalate, barbed wire barricades were erected along all entry points to the president's official residence Malacañang Palace, all done to ensure Marcos's safety.[19]

It has to be said that the defection did not catch Marcos by surprise. He had anticipated possible challenges to the legitimacy of the February 1986 snap presidential elections and had made preparations for a robust response.[20] The American embassy in Manila wrote in a February 14 telegram, "Marcos and Ver were passing the word they were ready for anything." American diplomats sensed "a growing siege mentality at the palace" and that "if necessary, they would fire on the crowd and there could be large numbers of casualties."[21] The US embassy in Manila reiterated this observation in another telegram on February 20, two days before Ramos and Enrile's defection:

> Warnings to opposition businessmen and the Catholic Church suggest that Marcos may be gearing up for a genuine crackdown after his inauguration. He certainly wants us to think that he has repression of martial law under active consideration. While this could mainly be political one-upmanship, it would be imprudent to rule out this Marcos option at a time when he is fighting for political survival. As we have said before, this is not the Shah.[22]

With little doubt that Marcos would stop at nothing to protect his grip on power, White House spokesperson Larry Speakes warned Marcos that the United States would cease military assistance if the Philippine Government used that aid against other elements of the Philippine military which enjoy substantial popular backing.[23]

It soon became apparent that Ramos and Enrile's defection was not a small scale, easy-to-confine mutiny. Ver's ability to mount an effective counter-response was thwarted from the very start. Ver's first strategic move was to deny the rebellion a means of communication. Ver ordered the Intelligence Services of the Armed Forces of the Philippines (ISAFP) to destroy Radio Veritas, the Catholic radio station that had earlier broadcast Enrile and Ramos's earlier press conference live. Ver chose the ISAFP because they were the military unit closest to the radio station. However, the ISAFP rebuffed Ver's orders and joined Enrile and Ramos.[24]

Following ISAFP's defection, Ver then turned to Gen. Prospero Olivas, the chief of the PC METROCOM, to destroy Radio Veritas. METROCOM was responsible for riot control in the capital city of Manila. General Olivas too snubbed Ver and also defied subsequent orders to deploy METROCOM troopers to cordon off Camp Aguinaldo and disperse the gathering crowds on EDSA. General Olivas refused to carry out Ver's orders despite receiving five personal calls from Marcos. Frustrated, Marcos went to General Olivas's subordinate, Gen. Alfredo Lim, a METROCOM district commander, not aware that he too had already joined the rebellion.[25]

The evening of Ramos and Enrile's defection (February 22), Ver issued a concomitant order to the chief of the Fifty-second Engineer Brigade, Brig. Gen. Feliciano Suarez, to cut off the water and power supply to the rebel camps. As the supplier of the city's electricity and water was the Manila Electric Company (Meralco), Suarez relayed Ver's orders to the company's executive vice president, retired Brig. Gen. Francisco Gatmaitan, who had by then also already deserted the regime.[26]

Set back by these early defections, Ver met with several pro-Marcos generals in the early morning hours of February 23 and devised a plan to forcefully retake Camps Aguinaldo and Crame where Enrile and Ramos continued to remain holed up.[27] The conferees designated the Philippine marines as the main strike force; army troopers would be held in reserve; and air force and naval units would provide general support. Fort Bonifacio, the army headquarters, was designated the staging area for the action. Commanding general of the marines, Brig. Gen. Artemio Tadiar, redeployed the Third and Fifth Marine Battalion Landing Teams from Malacañang Palace and assembled them at Fort Bonifacio.[28]

On the afternoon of February 23, while Marcos appeared on live television to tell Enrile and Ramos to surrender, General Ver gave the go-ahead for the marine assault to begin. Brigadier General Tadiar led the operation and was backed up by nine armored personnel carriers (APCs), a dozen jeeps, and two Marine brigades. Tadiar and his marines were stopped along Ortigas Avenue, about two kilometers from Camp Crame. The soldiers were met by tens of thousands of people, including nuns holding rosaries who knelt in front of the APCs and people who linked arms together to block the troops. Tadiar threatened the use of force but the crowds did not budge. Despite Ver's orders to "ram through the crowds," Tadiar's convoy did not comply with these directives and instead retreated back to their camps.[29]

The next day (February 24), the third day of the rebellion, Marcos declared a nationwide state of emergency. He ordered all radio stations to stop broadcasts of troop movements and statements from Enrile and Ramos. Marcos authorized troops to seize all stations that did not comply. The soldiers were to "use all necessary force" to defend all vital installations. Marcos also warned protestors on EDSA "to get out of the line of fire."[30]

Another part of this new, more robust strategy to quell the mutiny was an artillery assault on Camp Crame to be led by army commander, Gen. Josephus Ramas.[31] Described by the American embassy in Manila as part of "a major counteroffensive on the part of pro-Marcos troops," "an attack by up to three Army battalions was planned for tonight [evening of February 24]" supported by "a large force of 3,000 Marines" assembled in Quezon City near Camp Crame together with "tank movements out of Fort Bonifacio."[32] General Ramas mobilized two marine brigades to mount this offensive, with Col. Braulio Balbas, commander of the First Provisional Tactical Brigade of the First Marine Provisional Division, leading the troops. But after positioning their heavy

guns and zeroing in on their targets at Camp Crame, Colonel Balbas refused to comply with Ramas's orders to fire on Camp Crame.[33]

Later that day (February 24), after being foiled by the crowds on EDSA and failing to get to the rebel camps for the past forty-eight hours, Brigadier General Tadiar informed the president that the Philippine Marines would no longer take part in any military operations against unarmed civilians. They would only carry out a defensive role: to defend the president, the palace and the republic.[34]

The Philippine Air Force likewise defied orders to quell the military rebellion. At dawn on February 24, Marcos ordered helicopters from the Fifteenth Air Force Strike Wing based out of Villamor Airbase and led by Col. Antonio Sotelo, to attack Camp Crame.[35] Instead of attacking the camp, the squadron landed in the camp compounds. Later in the morning, helicopter gunships from this squadron attacked Malacañang Palace. This symbolic attack was designed to show that the rebels had acquired air attack capability.[36] After strafing the palace, Sotelo's helicopters proceeded to destroy helicopters that still backed Marcos and were based at Villamor Airbase on the outskirts of Manila.[37] Later that day (February 24), the Fifth Fighter Wing at Basa Air Base in Pampanga and the eight-hundred-strong command at the Clark Air Base led by Col. Romeo David, declared their loyalty to Enrile and Ramos.[38] Pilots flew their T-33, F-5, and T-28 fighters to Clark Air Base, where their planes were "grounded" under the pretext of lack of fuel so they would not be used by Marcos.[39] In the early morning hours of February 25, two F-27s and two C-130 troop transport aircraft Ver had earlier ordered to ferry reinforcements to Manila, took off from Vilamor Airbase, changed flight plans, and also landed at Clark. These defections effectively left pro-Marcos military forces with no air support.[40]

By February 25, almost 90 percent of the armed forces had defected and joined Enrile and Ramos's mutiny. In the final act that drew the curtain down on the Marcos presidency, American president Ronald Reagan's confidant, Senator Paul Laxalt, called Marcos and told him he no longer had the support of the United States.[41] By nightfall of February 25, Marcos, his family, and some of his senior advisors, including General Ver, left Manila on American helicopters. Marcos and his entourage were transported first to Clark Air Force Base and later to exile in Hawaii.

On February 26, the regime of President Ferdinand Marcos was no more. The AFP, Marcos's key tool for regime maintenance and the dreaded imple-

ment for repression, especially during the martial law period where members of the military were involved in the disappearances, torture, and murder of political dissidents, played a critical role in the president's demise.[42] How did this come to pass?

Authoritarianism in the Philippines: From Cacique Democracy to Personalistic Rule

Our examination of why the AFP defected from Marcos and sided instead with the popular demonstrations on EDSA begins with an analysis of the nature of autocratic rule during the Marcos presidency. I do so by contrasting Philippine authoritarianism in the period before the Marcos presidency (1946–65) with Marcos's time in office (1966–86). The aim here is to demonstrate how increasing personalism was evident in the period leading up to the People Power revolution (table. 3.1).

The Pre-Marcos Period (1946–65): Cacique Democracy

Pre–martial law politics in the Philippines has been dubbed oligarchic, with the contestation between two main parties, the Liberals and Nacionalistas, serving as a backdrop for the rivalry between the landowning elites.[43] In congressional elections from 1946 to 1971, the Liberals and Nacionalistas alternated power in the Philippine Congress with "mechanical regularity" (table 3.2).[44] Nacionalista candidates won the presidency three times (1953,

Table 3.1. From cacique democracy to personalistic rule

	Form of authoritarian institution	
	Oligarchic, 1946–1965	Highly personalistic, 1966–1986
Main features	Alternation of political power in Philippine congress Political power shared among landed elite	Martial law abrogates congress Centralization of political and economic power within Marcos family Military loyalists in command
Principal power relationships	Liberals, Nacionalistas, landed elite	Marcoses, cronies, loyalists in the armed forces

Table 3.2. Two-party system in the Philippine congress, 1946–1969

	Nacionalista		Liberal		Others		Total seats	
Year	HoR	S	HoR	S	HoR	S	HoR	S
1946	35	7	49	8	14	1	98	16
1947	–	1	–	7	–	0	–	8
1949	33	0	66	8	1	0	100	8
1951	–	0	–	8	–	0	–	8
1953	31	5	59	0	12	3	102	8
1955	–	8	–	0	–	0	–	8
1957	82	6	19	2	1	0	102	8
1959	–	5	–	2	–	1	–	8
1961	74	2	29	6	1	0	104	8
1963	–	4	–	4	–	0	–	8
1965	38	5	61	2	5	1	104	8
1967	–	7	–	1	–	0	–	8
1969	88	7	18	1	4	0	110	8
1971	–	2	–	6	–	0	–	8

Source: Julio Teehankee, "Electoral Politics in the Philippines," in *Electoral Politics in Southeast and East Asia*, ed. Aurel Croissant et al. (Singapore: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 2002), 156.

Note: HoR, House of Representatives; S, Senate. Dashes indicate years in which no House of Representatives elections were held.

1957 and 1965) while Liberal candidates were successful on three occasions (1946, 1949 and 1961) (table 3.3). From 1946 to 1969, the Nacionalistas and Liberals captured 94 percent or more of the votes in congressional elections (table 3.2).[45]

Benedict Anderson has termed this quasi-democratic rotation of power between the two parties a *cacique democracy*. While there was alternation of political power between political parties, the key entities that shaped Philippine politics and economics during that period were actually a small group of landowning families or landed elite. The Araneta, Lopez, Cojuangco, Roxas, Soriano, and Yulo clans were some of the families who were influential during this pre–martial law period.[46]

The Nacionalista and Liberal parties were virtually indistinguishable. The Liberals were a breakaway faction of the Nacionalistas founded during American colonial rule and essentially had the same membership as the Nacionalistas.[47] David Wurfel writes about a student who was asked to contrast these two main Filipino parties and he remarked: "I don't believe one species of mud can be very different from another."[48] Indeed, the two parties were no more than a

Table 3.3. Philippine presidents, 1946–1986

President	Party	Term
Manuel Roxas[a]	Liberal	1946–1948
Elpidio Quirino	Liberal	1949–1953
Ramon Magsaysay[b]	Nacionalista	1953–1957
Carlos Garcia	Nacionalista	1957–1961
Diosdado Macapagal	Liberal	1961–1965
Ferdinand Marcos[c]	Nacionalista	1965–1986

[a]Died in office. Succeeded by Vice President Elpidio Quirino.
[b]Died in office. Succeeded by Vice President Carlos Garcia.
[c]Re-elected in 1969. Declared martial law in 1972. Ousted in 1986.

loose coalition of political patrons and their clients, with little ideological differentiation. Elections were essentially competitions between the two parties' clientist networks. The political parties served as patronage machines in which kinship and personal ties were used to secure access to money, business contracts, jobs, and other personal favors.[49] Small third parties have occasionally tried, and failed, to break this two-party monopoly.[50]

The membership profile of the House of Representatives in the early 1970s reflected the oligarchic nature of Philippine politics—the vast majority of congressional representatives came from the sixty most influential families in the country.[51] Senate president Jose Avelino's response to charges of bribe taking in government epitomizes why the landed elite were in politics: "What are we in power for? . . . Why should we pretend to be saints when in reality we are not?"[52]

Turncoatism (*balimbing*) was a standard practice within the political parties. Loyalty and defection depended on personal rivalries, with elections a highly expensive way of guaranteeing control as patronage decided victory or failure. The longer each party was in power, the greater the conflict over the distribution of spoils. Over time, the party not in power could entice shortchanged rival party members by promising them a larger piece of the political pie should they defect.[53]

The parties were then vehicles for the landed elites to seize the top political prize—the presidency. The party that controlled the presidency had greater access to government-distributed pork barrel spoils than their rivals and hence better positioned to retain the loyalty of their members. With political office, especially control over the presidency, "spoils and patronage turned the state bureaucracies into fiefdoms of particularistic interests mediated by the oligarchy and dominant political families."[54]

A useful illustration of the oligarchic nature of Philippine politics in the pre–martial law era would be the dealings of the Lopez clan from Iloilo. The Lopezes made their mark in the late nineteenth century as sugar planters on Negros Island. While the second generation of Lopezes consolidated their property and position within the regional planter elite, their children made a successful move into sugar milling in the 1920s.[55] Lopez scions Eugenio and Fernando moved the family business away from sugar after World War II and acquired interests in banks, newspapers (the *Manila Chronicle*), radio and television, and airlines. In the 1960s, Eugenio acquired the capital city's only electric power producer and distributor, Manila Electric Company, becoming the first Filipino owners of the utility company.

Fernando Lopez also embarked on a political career, developing a formidable portfolio initially at the provincial and later at the national level after World War II. Fernando was elected mayor of Iloilo in 1945, senator in 1947, and vice president of the republic in 1949 under Elpidio Quirino as a Liberal party member. He subsequently returned to the Senate and sought the Nacionalistas nomination for the presidency in 1965 but withdrew to become Marcos's running mate. Fernando's political successes provided Eugenio with government contacts for his business undertakings, turning the Lopez family from a provincial sugar baron into one of the Philippines' most powerful oligarchs in a quarter of a century.[56]

The symbiosis of business and politics in the Lopez story was emblematic of oligarchic rule in the Philippines in the pre–martial law period. The Lopez clan was but one of many landowning elites who succeeded. During this period, the Philippines was in essence a "solid, visible national oligarchy."[57] The true genius of oligarchic rule in the Philippines during this period was its capacity to "disperse power horizontally" while "concentrating it vertically." This horizontal dispersal of power, Anderson argues, was able to "draw a partial veil over" the vertical concentration of power.[58] Cacique democracy provided a convenient system in which power was rotated at the top, among the leading landowning families, without effective participation of the people. This rotation of power among the leading landed families created an important but fragile rule that governed the political game in the pre–martial law period, particularly that concerning the presidency. With the crucial ability to put a stranglehold on public patronage, the Philippine president exercised an extraordinary amount of influence.

While several defeated incumbents had thoughts of retaining power, an implicit norm existed such that no sitting president who had lost his bid for reelection stayed on unconstitutionally.[59] Indeed, there was no tradition of *continuismo* in the Philippines. There was no precedence for overstaying in office, no process to legitimize it, and more important, no guarantee the armed forces would accept such a move. The Commission on Elections (Comelec), although impotent to prevent vote rigging, did make it difficult for an incumbent president to steal a national election. Although regional courts were often corrupted by the landed elites, the Philippine Supreme Court maintained a reputation for integrity and impartiality in national elections.[60] David Wurfel offers an instance of the judiciary neutrality in 1961 when the Supreme Court invalidated the act of enlarging and reapportioning of the House of Representatives just before the elections. Although the court's ruling threw the ruling Nacionalista party into disarray, the party did not ignore the ruling.[61]

As such, throughout pre–martial law period, the Philippines had not seen a clearly identifiable central ruler or strongman. What we observed instead was a nominally strong president with a relatively brief tenure in office, needing to make concessions to "local patrimonial lords (the landed elite)" who possessed economic and political power in their localities and were represented at the national level in the Philippine Senate and House of Representatives.[62] Thus, although the pre–martial law period was far from the ideal type of democracy, electoral competition and oligarchic autonomy kept the system in equilibrium. Carl Lande suggests that this system before the Marcos presidency was highly stable: not that this system did not have weaknesses, but rather it had survived until it came to head with a president determined to stay in power indefinitely.[63]

The Armed Forces in the Pre-Marcos Period

The Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) in the pre–martial law period was largely a small multiservice force of some sixty thousand personnel, indoctrinated with the ideals of civilian supremacy and generally not involved in political entanglements.[64] The president was commander in chief of the armed forces, but his powers of appointment and appropriation were circumscribed. For military appointments at the senior rank, those of colonel and above, the president could only appoint officers with the concurrence of the Commission on Appointments for the Philippine Congress. Authority over the armed forces

was therefore not concentrated in the hands of the president, as congressmen wielded influence over the president's choices of military leaders. Indeed, while the president could nominate officers to senior military ranks, military officers who wanted to move up the hierarchy often needed the assistance of a congressional *padrino*.[65]

There was no centralized authority over the armed forces in the pre–martial law period, also because the two presidents prior to Marcos, Carlos Garcia and Diosdado Macapagal, had few ties to the armed forces. They were not supported by the military in the presidential elections, relying chiefly instead on the landed elite, for political support. As a result, both presidents appointed members of the landed oligarchy, rather than military officers, to key positions within the government. Unlike past presidents Quezon, Roxas, Magsaysay, or even Marcos, Garcia and Macapagal also had little direct connections with the military. Garcia had previously served three terms in the Philippine House of Representatives, three terms as governor of his native province of Bohol, and finally three terms in the Philippine Senate. He was picked as Ramon Magsaysay's vice presidential running mate because of his congressional political experience and his wartime record of opposition to the Japanese. The latter service, however, was purely civil. Diosdado Macapagal's background was also largely nonmilitary. An attorney and professor of law, Macapagal first served in the Philippine House of Representatives from 1949 through 1957 and as vice president of the Philippines from 1957 through 1960.[66]

The Marcos Presidency (1965–86): Personalizing the State

These implicit rules of power sharing and the rotation of political power among the oligarchs were abrogated when Ferdinand Edralin Marcos arrived on the political scene. Marcos, a member of the Nacionalistas, was first elected president of the Philippines in November 1965 and again in November 1969 for his second term. With his 1969 electoral victory, Marcos became the first Filipino president ever to win two terms in office and a clearly identifiable strongman began to emerge.

From the start of his legal presidency, Marcos allocated an unprecedented amount of pork barrel spending to finance his electoral prospects. He spent an estimated US$200 million on his 1969 presidential campaign, which was more than all other campaign funds spent in the postwar period put together.[67] Unlike his predecessors, who emptied the state budget only in election years, Marcos "ran deficits even in off years to fund a massive infrastructure pro-

gram that was parceled out for maximum political advantage."[68] Marcos enlarged the already huge budgetary powers of the Philippine presidency with new discretionary funds that could be distributed directly to local officials for "community projects." Viewing the landed elite as obstacles for popular mobilization, the Marcos administration "sought to broaden the flow of resources and executive contacts beneath the congressmen and into the municipalities, minimizing its dependence on the political brokers in the legislative branch, who have historically proven to be such a disappointment to incumbent presidents seeking reelection."[69] There was therefore no surprise that Marcos "out-gooned, out-gunned, and out-gold" his way through the 1969 elections.[70]

By the end of 1971, Marcos's grip on power was under threat. He was challenged with the continued dominance of the traditional families in the Philippine Congress, mounting popular pressures for change from civil society, as well as a communist insurgency in Mindanao.[71] Marcos moved to suspend the writ of habeas corpus in November 1971 after a series of random bombings in Manila and other large cities. Marcos blamed the communists for the attacks, although it has been suggested that his regime was behind these incidents. The incident that precipitated Proclamation 1081 (Martial Law) in September 1972 was an attempt, allegedly by communists, to assassinate Minister of National Defense Juan Ponce Enrile. In doing so, "Don Ferdinand Marcos" became the "Master Cacique," or "Master Warlord," pushing the logic of the old oligarchic order to its natural conclusion.[72]

Under martial law, Marcos's intent was to create a "New Society" and diminish the preeminence of the oligarchs by taking patrimonial politics to an extreme. With martial law and the abolition of Congress, expensive intra-elite electoral competition was eliminated amidst heightened demands from the masses for political change. Marcos centralized a hitherto decentralized patrimonial polity revolving around the oligarchs and achieved a tighter control over all state apparatuses."[73] As Benedict Anderson puts it:

> In place of dozens of privatized "security guards," a single privatized National Constabulary; in place of personal armies, a personal Army; instead of pliable local judges, a client Supreme Court; instead of a myriad pocket and rotten boroughs, a pocket or rotten country, managed by cronies, hitmen, and flunkies . . . Marcos had moved mentally out of the nineteenth century, and understood that in our time wealth serves power, and that the key card is the state. Manila's Louis Napoleon.[74]

One of the first steps Marcos took to consolidate executive authority within the Office of the President was to use the immense powers given to him via martial law to imprison his political enemies. This group included several hundred opposition politicians and journalists such as Benigno Aquino, Senators Ramon Mitra, Francisco Rodgrio, Congressman Jose Lingad, and publisher Joaquin Roces. The arrest of Eugenio Lopez and Sergio Osmena III on charges of plotting to assassinate Marcos silenced two of the most important anti-Marcos family clans.[75] Within five years of martial law, some seventy thousand Filipinos were imprisoned for their political actions and beliefs.[76]

Facing "a property-owning, especially . . . land-owning stratum of . . . subjects [that had] easily monopolized the local offices,"[77] and concerns that this well-entrenched oligarchic forces might stand in the way of his centralizing agenda, Marcos, with the authority of martial law, ruled by fiat and issued presidential decrees to restrict or contradict rulings by the Supreme Court. He fortified his position vis-à-vis the landholding elite by closing down Congress. His limited land reform program of rice and corn land also struck a blow to landed elites by reducing their holdings.[78] As Wurfel explains, "Land reform's most important political function was to strike a blow at the 'oligarchy,' those wealthy elites who formed the core of his political opposition. The Aquino estates were among the first to be expropriated. The president lost his originally keen interest after owners of more than one hundred hectares had been dispossessed."[79]

Yet Marcos understood that because the landed oligarchs controlled crucial independent resources throughout the country, this meant that he could not afford to antagonize them as a group. Martial law was about centralizing rather than "disbanding the national network of patron-client relations—to become the 'supreme godfather.'"[80] Marcos realized that he could not "induce business performance" if he acted too generally and too rashly against his rivals. His strategy was to move selectively against those who most threatened his regime.[81]

An examination of how Marcos moved against the Lopez clan highlights his concern not to antagonize the landed oligarchs in general. Marcos's early targeting of the Lopez clan was "crudely" accomplished—he had incarcerated Eugenio Lopez fairly early on in the martial law period and thereafter expropriated the Lopezes' newspaper and television studios, placing them in the hands of the First Lady's favorite brother, Benjamin "Kokoy" Romualdez, and Marcos's fraternity brother, Roberto Benedicto. However, for the Lopez's Meralco,

Manila's electric company, Marcos knew that it would be scandalous to use the same crude methods. As it was an immense corporation with twelve thousand stockholders, some of them foreign creditors, Marcos effected Meralco expropriation by arresting Eugenio Lopez's eldest son and using his "release" as "hostage to force compliance . . . to break the Lopez hold over Meralco step-by-step." Marcos utilized techniques such as cuts in power rates and the withholding of credit to force the Lopezes to turn over "US$5.7 million worth of assets for only $1,500." The holdings of Meralco smaller stockholders, however, were not absorbed by the regime.[82]

Discretionary power in the regime was concentrated to an extreme degree in the Office of the President and his wife, Imelda. Imelda Marcos was de facto the second most powerful person in the country. Marcos appointed her governor of Metro Manila in 1975 and head of the newly created Ministry of Human Settlements in 1977. She was the Philippines' ambassador-at-large and used that position to travel widely to the United States, the Soviet Union, China, Libya, and other countries combining "diplomatic missions" with shopping trips. Imelda also chaired or headed up twenty-seven government offices.[83] By 1981, public and private funds equaling 50 percent of the total government budget were under the control of Imelda Marcos.[84] Her influence in government was such that Primitivo Mijares, Marcos's former media adviser and top aide, labeled the Philippine dictatorship "conjugal."[85]

Marcos and his wife exercised profound discretionary authority over practically all aspects of Filipino life, not just in politics but in economics and society as well. With the offices of the state at their disposal, the First Couple became the richest people in the Philippines and among the wealthiest in the world, amassing a fortune estimated at between US$5 billion and US$10 billion. Known as Mr. Ten Percent, Marcos received a cut of every major business transaction in the country. Montes explains that this 10 percent cut was used for special projects, notably those of the First Lady.[86] Imelda's Ministry of Human Settlements was a "government within a government" and the largest pork-barrel machine in the country.[87] With a budget of more than US$1 billion, special taxing powers, and US$200 million in developmental assistance from the US government, this "superministry" built roads, schools, housing, recreational sites, and ecology projects, all prominently displaying plaques bearing the name of Imelda Marcos.[88]

With power concentrated in Malacañang Palace, other Marcos family members and friends benefitted from their close ties to the Marcoses. Benjamin

"Kokoy" Romualdez, Imelda's brother, exercised de facto control of the Bureau of Customs, the General Auditing Commission, and the Bureau of Internal Revenue. Imelda's sister, Alita Martel held the "franchise" for Central Bank and Ministry of Agriculture. Marcos's brother, Pacifico Marcos, ran the Medicare Commission while his elderly mother influenced the Rice and Corn Administration.[89]

Marcos's grasp of the Filipino political economy was extended through "crony capitalism"—the process of subcontracting to his close friends important areas of the economy for plundering. Marcos allowed his cronies to monopolize key commodities through special taxes, production privileges, or import-export licenses. For example, Marcos took control of the sugar industry from the landlords through a corporation controlled by his fraternity brother Roberto Benedicto. With a presidential decree, Benedicto's National Sugar Trading Corporation became the sole exporter of sugar in the Philippines. Marcos also imposed a tariff on coconut producers, and used these tax funds and a presidential decree that penalized independent millers to assist Eduardo Cojuangco (another important Marcos crony) to purchase 80 percent of the country's coconut milling capacity.[90] Cojuangco later used his coconut-generated wealth to buy San Miguel, the country's largest corporation, best known for its beer.[91]

With Marcos's assistance, the firms of other cronies dominated further crucial industries in the country. Herminio Disini (who married a cousin of the First Lady and was one of the president's golfing partners) set up the corruption-ridden US$1.1 billion Westinghouse nuclear power plant deal. Westinghouse's competitor General Electric had initially offered to build two reactors for a cheaper US$700 million but the company lacked Westinghouse's connections to the Marcoses. For favoring Westinghouse, Disini reportedly received a commission of about US$35 million.[92] Disini also controlled the Herdis group, which had gotten its start in the tobacco industry after Marcos imposed a 100 percent tariff on tobacco filters for all companies other than Disini's Philippine Tobacco Filters Corporation. Disini's own firm was subject to only a 10 percent tax. This preferential tax treatment effectively shut down Disini's competitors and enabled him to corner 90 percent of the local market for tobacco filters.[93]

When technocrats tried to limit government corruption and abuse of power, they were overruled or forced out of office. Executive Secretary Alejandro Melchor was fired in 1975 when he tried to reform the military, while

National Economic Development Authority head Gerardo Sicat was dismissed in 1981 because of his attempts to implement free market reforms. The most important government technocrat was finance minister and later also prime minister Cesar Virata. When Virata revoked the coconut levy in 1981, Marcos, under pressure from Eduardo Cojuangco, overruled the decision. Imelda Marcos later led a campaign against Virata, whom she called "Doctor No," for his opposition to her schemes.[94]

Crony selection for the Marcos's was based entirely on loyalty and long-standing personal connections. While Marcos's many cronies flourished in their businesses, few combined their access to officially granted privileges with the formal assumption of official political positions. This can be seen as part of Marcos's efforts to ensure his associates did not develop any tendency toward independence.[95] David Wurfel observes that few of the newly powerful and wealthy under the Marcos regime were considered "influential" prior to the imposition of martial law, while many families considered "influential" then had now disappeared from the scene:

> Unlike in 1969–70, when power was broadly based [*sic*], there is only one power now. . . . The others have disappeared. . . . As for financial power and influence, maybe we still have influentials in this area, but even here the holders of economic power and influence who have survived the martial law regime are no longer free to use their power in the way they were to use it before martial law. They defer to political authority. They no longer wield a big stick as they did then. It is a muted exercise of influence. The economic empires are still there: the Sorianos, Ayalas, Elizaldes, Puyats, and Madrigals; but the Lopez power is gone. Each group is devoted to its own interests—there is no unifying ideology among them except how to survive and prosper in these times.[96]

Marcos found it easy to personalize the Philippine state because of the ease of access to foreign funds, which he could then funnel out as patronage. In the year following the declaration of martial law, the US Agency for International Development (USAID) increased its financial assistance to the Philippines nearly threefold, from US$30.5 million in 1972 to US$85.7 million in 1973. Four years prior to martial law, the Philippines received USAID loans and grants totaling US$56.2 million, whereas during the subsequent four years, the amount more than quadrupled to US$240.5 million. The Philippines also obtained concessional loans from US government corporations for an approximate total of US$1.1 billion in fiscal years 1973–75, almost doubling the

US$509.3 million received in years 1969–72.[97] International lending agencies were also complicit in granting easy credit to the Marcos regime. From independence in 1946 until 1973, the Philippines received US$301 million in loans from the World Bank and the International Development Association, a pittance compared to the US$1.34 billion from the same organizations from 1974 through 1978.[98]

A key reason why Marcos was able to easily tap into the availability of international capital was his exploitation of the strategically important US-Philippines relations. Marcos saw that American strategic needs in Southeast Asia, in particular the American bases of Clark and Subic, presented ample opportunity for private gain. "More clearly than anyone else," Benedict Anderson explains, Marcos understood "that for Washington the Philippines were like Cyprus for London."[99] As the military bases offered important support to American forces in Vietnam, Marcos could negotiate with Washington aid givers from a position of strength. All five American presidents Marcos dealt with from 1965 to 1985 were unwilling to jeopardize the US-Marcos relationship. Lyndon B. Johnson referred to Marcos as his "right arm in Asia" in 1966. Jimmy Carter tacitly endorsed the Marcos regime when he remained silent about the martial law abuses even as he spoke pointedly about atrocities in other countries. Reagan called Marcos as an "old and good" friend during a White House state dinner in 1982.[100] Even when questions were raised about Marcos's cronyism during the martial law years, the US government saw Marcos as "necessarily part of the solution."[101] A 1985 "leaked" summary of a State Department document on US policy towards the Philippines read: "The U.S. does not want to remove Marcos from power to destabilize the government. . . . Our approach assumes that our interests in the Philippines are worth a high priority and costly effort to preserve. . . . Our support is one of Marcos's largest remaining strengths."[102] The United States "rewarded" Marcos's strong arm of friendship in 1983 with a US$900 million security assistance package for the renewal of the 1947 Military Bases agreement. The new amount was an increase of US$400 million over previous extensions.[103]

The martial law period also saw Marcos's emasculating the Catholic Church's political influence. The church was the most effective focal point for mass discontent against the martial law regime as the legitimacy of its leadership was infinitely more widely respected than that of Marcos's government. Marcos dealt with the pull of the Filipino Catholic Church in a "subtle, cautious—but no less firm—fashion." Taxation, or the threat of doing so, was an effective

weapon to silence would be Marcos critics. Church-owned school property was made taxable for the first time in 1973 with a presidential decree. Marcos offered a "stay of execution" until the end of 1974 and again during 1975 and early 1976. These "stays of execution" forced influential Catholic leaders to approach the Marcoses "in supplication" and thus weakened the would-be independent stance clergymen would have advocated. The potency of the Catholic Church was greatly lessened also by the fact that it was not united on how to deal with the regime. While the superiors of the religious orders and more than a dozen of the younger bishops led by the tough-minded Bishop Francisco Claver of Bukidnon in Mindanao were willing to confront Marcos on issues of human rights and social justice, and to organize the faithful for this purpose, others such as the Cardinal Rosales of Cebu—who was close to Imelda Marcos's Romualdez family—were horrified at the prospect of doing so. Progressive clergymen such as Bishop Claver viewed the excesses of the martial law period as issues requiring clergy-led movements for social justice, while the conservatives saw "politics from the pulpit" as threats to the integrity of the church as an institution.[104]

Another key indicator of personalism as outlined in the theoretical chapter would be how a leader or strongman weakens the political party he was once a part of, and governs instead unencumbered by any set of party dictates. Despite being elected president on the Nacionalista party ticket, Marcos dispensed with it during the martial law period.[105] Juan Ponce Enrile explained that so long as the Nacionalista continued to operate, senior party leaders could challenge Marcos.[106] When national elections were permitted again in April 1978, Marcos announced the creation of the New Society Movement (KBL, or Kilusan Bagon Lipunan), a loose umbrella organization under which the president's cronies could run for political office. As further evidence of its loose ad-hoc organizational nature, the KBL did not formally meet for another two years, well after Marcos's cronies had assumed their positions in the new Philippine National Assembly. As Enrile notes, the KBL "was a vehicle by those people who ran in that election (1978) to identify themselves when they went to the electorate."[107] Otherwise, the KBL as a party organization was essentially that of Marcos—the president entertained his cronies' requests personally, bypassing any attempt to create to create any form of a hierarchical party structure.[108]

The KBL won 85 percent of the seats following the 1978 elections and became Marcos's rubber stamp in the new national assembly. One former KBL

party member described the benefits of membership in the following manner: "It's nice. Like any political grouping you want to be able to bring something home. You don't want to go home empty-handed. And at that time all funds were controlled by Malacañang. . . . Now if you are in the opposition, you don't get anything."[109] Echoing his fellow party member, another KBL congressman recalled that each time he visited Malacañang Palace "there was an expectation that they would receive something, even cash. Often cash." KBL caucuses had become "scripted" and "ran in the direction that Marcos wanted."[110] In the words of Juan Ponce Enrile, the KBL turned into "a party represented by people who were more or less sympathetic to him [Marcos] and his political thinking and policies. In effect he said, 'Let's draw the line. Those who are with me, let them come and join this new political group. Those who are against [me], let them stay out.'[111]

Personalizing the Armed Forces: The Marcos Presidency (1965–86)

It should be no surprise then that Marcos's personalization of the Filipino bureaucratic apparatus and sociopolitical life was likewise extended to the armed forces. Like other state bureaucracies he had personalized, Marcos's goal with the military was to undermine its autonomy and ensure that its leaders were personally loyal to him. The military, being a key tool of coercion within the Filipino state, especially for the enforcement of martial law, was particularly germane in this regard.

Marcos's tinkering with the armed forces began at the start of his legal presidency. He held on to the Defense portfolio for the first thirteen months of his presidency to develop a patronage system within the armed forces establishment. Marcos then carried out the largest reshuffle in the history of the armed forces when he forcibly retired fourteen of the AFP's twenty-five flag officers, including the chief and the vice chiefs of staff, the army commanding general, the chief of the Philippine Constabulary (PC), and all four PC zone commanders. In addition, more than one-third of all PC provincial commanders were relieved.[112]

Following the declaration of martial law, there was no longer any congressional oversight over AFP appointments. Promotions became a purely internal affair of the military with Marcos as the sole authorizer.[113] Marcos used this new authority to carry out two broad strategies to ensure the loyalty of the military's top brass. The first was to extend the terms of senior generals beyond their regular retirement date. Several months before the declaration of

martial law and just before the writ of habeas corpus was suspended, Marcos had in place twenty-seven out of thirty-four generals in the "overstaying" category.[114] Extension of the tours of duty of field officers had become the norm rather than the exception.[115] By extending the stay of senior officers past their mandatory retirement, Marcos could command their obedience more easily than those whose tenure had not yet expired. The pervasiveness of this "overstaying" is demonstrated by the sixteen-month average tenure of senior AFP officers before Marcos came to power as opposed to the more than one hundred months of service during his time in office.[116]

Another strategy Marcos used was to appoint military officers from his home province of Ilocos Norte to key commands, a process popularly dubbed as "Ilocanization."[117] Two significant steps taken by Marcos in the "Ilocanization" of the AFP were the appointment of Brig. Gen. Fabien Ver (later promoted to general) as commander of the Presidential Security Command (PSC), and Brig. Gen. Fidel Ramos as chief of the Philippine Constabulary (PC). Both appointments were highly familial—Ver was Marcos's first cousin while Ramos's mother, Angel Valdez, was a child of Crispina Marcos, the first cousin of Mariano Marcos, Marcos's father.[118]

During the martial law period, Marcos continued to exercise his autonomy in military appointments. In March 1976, Marcos retired eight generals, including the officers in command of the army, navy, and air force. He also reassigned twenty-one other top officers. Two years later, in May 1978, Marcos retired thirteen generals and served retirement notices to twenty-seven others. Seven generals who had passed retirement age were given indefinite extensions, including the AFP chief of staff Romeo Espino, and generals Ver and Ramos. Among the generals Marcos retired in 1978 were the deputy chief of the PC and three of four PC zone commanders.[119]

In 1982, a year after martial law was officially lifted, Marcos restructured the AFP provincial commands. He parsed the four zone commands into thirteen regional unified commands (RUCs). The RUCs were composite divisions that integrated PC, army, air force, navy, and marine units into one regional command to facilitate better coordination of combat and support operations in provinces across the archipelago. The centralization of these military activities further consolidated Marcos's control of the armed forces as many officers known to be loyal to Marcos headed the new RUCs.[120]

Also, in the post–martial law period, the upper ranks of the military continued to be filled with overstaying generals. In early May 1985, there were

thirty overstayers, of whom twenty-eight were extendees and two were recalled from retirement into active service.[121] Marcos extended many of these appointments more than once, some as many as ten times. Despite immense internal and external pressures to reform the military in the mid-1980s, there remained a total of twenty-two extendee generals at the time of the February 1986 People Power revolt.[122]

Military officers who went against Marcos were promptly ushered down or out of the military hierarchy. The experience of Gen. Rafael Ileto illustrates Marcos's ability to remove noncompliant officers. Ileto, then a brigadier general and AFP vice chief of staff of the Armed Forces, opposed Marcos's declaration of martial law in 1972. When Marcos shuffled some military commanders as part of the preparations for the martial law rule in 1972, Ileto was demoted to AFP deputy chief of staff, a position in which he no longer had control of troop movements. Marcos subsequently dispatched Ileto away from the Philippines, appointing him ambassador to Iran and Turkey in a concurrent capacity, the first AFP officer to be sent into diplomatic service. Ileto eventually resigned from the military and later served as ambassador to Thailand.[123]

Marcos's moves to wield personal authority over the AFP penetrated deep into the organization. Immediately after the declaration of martial law, all military officers were promoted one grade, their salaries were raised, and benefits were increased. In the first three-and-a-half years of martial law, the base pay for officers more than doubled.[124] The Armed Forces of the Philippines–Retirement and Separation Benefits System was also set up in 1973 under Presidential Decree No. 361 as a "funding mechanism to guarantee continuous financial support to the military retirement system."[125] Further promotions and the disbursement of other related benefits were granted only if officers pledged their fealty to Marcos.[126]

The armed forces also expanded rapidly during the Marcos administration. In the 1960s, Philippine force levels, including army, navy, air force, and constabulary, hovered around 35,000. By 1971, the figure had climbed to 53,000. Three years later, it was nearly 100,000, and, by 1976, troop levels hit 113,000, more than double the pre–martial law level. The number rose to almost 156,000 by 1980. Much of this enlarged military was positioned around Metro Manila to guard Marcos, and these units received extra funding to keep them faithful to the president.[127] This rapid growth of the AFP opened up new positions and speeded promotions. Salvador Laurel said in April 1972 that the growth resulted in making the AFP "the armed forces of the president."[128]

The defense budget jumped nearly tenfold from 1972 to 1977, growing from 608 million to 5.38 billion pesos. This increase was much more rapid than any military in the Southeast Asian region.[129] Also during this five-year period, military expenditure as a percentage of the total national budget nearly doubled, reaching 22.6 percent in 1977.[130]

Personal loyalty to Marcos became the key organizing principle of the AFP. Military professionalism declined. Carl Lande writes about the quid pro quo Marcos provided to the military in exchange for authority over the armed forces: "Loyalty in turn was rewarded by a growing tolerance of corruption, of the arbitrary use of power, and of other abuses. There was, in short, an increased reliance on primordial ties and traditional incentives rather than on the rewards commonly associated with military professionalism."[131]

Defection: The Byproduct of Personalism

Paul Hutchcroft has aptly characterized Marcos's tenure in office as "the politics of patrimonial plunder."[132] This depiction is not an exaggeration. As described by Clark Neher, "Every facet of policy-making was determined by Marcos himself or his closest confidants including his wife, Imelda Marcos. Whereas the other Southeast Asian nations had more or less successfully institutionalized the regimes in power, politics in the Philippines remained the politics of Marcos."[133] While other dictatorial regimes in Asia at that time (including Park Chung Hee's South Korea, Chiang Ching-kuo's Taiwan, Lee Kuan Yew's Singapore, and even Suharto's Indonesia to some extent) were moving to create strong military, government, and business institutions, Marcos systematically destroyed these institutions in the Philippines. By crippling state institutions and turning them into instruments of patronage, some within the group of Marcos supporters begun to question the direction of the regime. As William Overholt notes, Marcos's "policy of deinstitutionalization cast into doubt the future forms of business ownership, economic structure, military leadership, civil management, and law."[134]

The Laurel family provides an illustration of the growing disenchantment with the personalization of the Marcos regime. The Laurels, in particular the brothers Jose and Salvador, were former Nacionalista party members who left to join Marcos's KBL movement. However, as Marcos consolidated his grip on power, the Laurels found themselves at odds with the president. Juan Ponce Enrile suggested in an interview that the Laurel brothers "felt that they were Mr. Nacionalistas, and here is a newcomer from another party, who happened

to become the president of the country, lording over them."[135] The Laurels' disenchantment reflected that of other elites within the KBL, because the Marcoses poured pork barrel funds heavily in their home provinces of Ilocos Norte but also in the Manila area where Imelda promoted her beautification projects across the capital. Meanwhile, other regions in the Philippines where KBL members originated were systematically starved and exploited. Batangas Province, home to the Laurels, looked worse in the early 1980s than it did twenty years earlier; the public transportation system in particular, decayed beyond the possibility of economic use.[136]

When Marcos decided to revive elections in the late 1970s, dissent from what was once thought to be the president's inner circle became apparent. KBL members who had fallen out with Marcos now coalesced their support around the Laurels. The Laurels decided to revive the Nacionalista party in 1980 and fielded opposition candidates in the 1980 local elections. Salvador Laurel declared at his resignation from the KBL:

> Henceforth, I shall take my place in the ranks of the Opposition into which the Nacionalista Party and other political groups not affiliated with the KBL have been converted. If, as reported, the KBL has been accredited as a political party, it is necessary for me to sever all relations therewith, and to resume exclusive representation of the Nacionalista Party.[137]

Fortunately for the Laurels, they had one of the few local political machines that survived the repression of martial law more or less intact. So it was therefore no surprise that their candidate, Jose Laurel V, nephew of the brothers Salvador Laurel and Jose Laurel, Jr., was elected governor of the clan's home province of Batangas despite the patronage that the Marcoses poured into the area to defeat him. The Laurels also turned the 1980 campaign into a moral referendum on the Marcos administration. In what Salvador Laurel later claimed to be a prelude to the People Power revolt, thousands of opposition supporters surrounded a military vehicle that was trying to steal ballot boxes and forced the soldiers to back down. The elder Laurel brother, Jose Jr., expressed his defection from the Marcoses in this way: "I am fighting Marcos because I have an investment in him. I was hoping to collect but I have waited long enough."[138]

The Laurels subsequently joined forces with other anti-Marcos figures. Salvador recalled: "At the meeting the Liberals and Nacionalistas agreed to

join forces. We formed a council of leaders under the co-chairmanship of the two party presidents and composed of the heads of the various opposition groups."[139] This incipient counteralliance of former Marcos stalwarts and long-time regime opponents formalized their organization in August 1980. Eight organizations, including the Laurels' Nacionalistas issued a "Covenant for Freedom" that called for the "termination of the Marcos dictatorship" and the "dismantling of martial rule."[140] In addition to the Laurel brothers and other Nacionalistas, signatories of this covenant included former president Diosdado Macapagal of the Liberal Party and prominent Liberal leader Gerardo Roxas, son of the late president Manuel Roxas.[141] Staunch Marcos critic Benigno Aquino endorsed the declaration from his hospital bed in the United Stones, where he was recuperating from heart surgery.

The declaration served as a focal point for the wide array of anti-Marcos groups. In all, twelve opposition groups used this platform and joined together to form the United Democratic Opposition (UNIDO). UNIDO gave outcasts from Marcos's personalistic autocracy a channel to voice their discontent. Later defectors from the regime included former governor Rene Espina and former congressman Antonio Cuenco, who ran for office in 1978 under the KBL banner but lost due to lack of support from Marcos. Another was ex-Marcos cabinet member Ernesto Maceda.[142]

As discontent rose over the personalization of Marcos's rule even from his erstwhile allies, a crucial question of why the opposition was not able to capitalize on this lack of support for the regime, and even more so after the brutal assassination of Benigno Aquino Jr., in 1983 remains. Indeed, the outpouring of antigovernment sentiment following the brazen murder was visibly evident. Anti-Marcos protests became a common occurrence. On the eleventh anniversary of martial law on September 21, 1983, close to a million people gathered at Liwasang Bonifacio (the old Plaza Lawton) and hundreds of thousands turned up in simultaneous rallies in ten other major cities in the country. The financial district of Makati turned into a colorful sight because of the protests featuring yellow confetti, black typewriter ribbons, and other debris thrown out of office buildings, accompanied by protest songs.[143]

The opposition's fractious state was one factor why Marcos was able to cling onto power. Years of martial law had kept the opposition fragmented by preventing the emergence of new national political leaders. The Philippine opposition was characterized by numerous relatively small groups led by individuals

with limited mass appeal. Individuals in the opposition considered "national" were holdovers from the old Congress and for the most part, drew their support from within the confines of Metro Manila.[144]

UNIDO, which began with much fanfare, was actually a loose alliance of opposition groups and never challenged Marcos as a unified single party. UNIDO was unable to present a coherent alternative program, and to find a leader who had broad national appeal. The opposition united only due to its common disdain for Marcos. Because of the highly personalistic nature of Philippine politics, the competing ambitions of potential leaders, and Marcos's ability to manipulate and co-opt rival forces, the opposition had a difficult time presenting a serious alternative.[145]

Factionalism among the opposition also occurred because many of the opposition leaders were former pre–martial law government officials and were distrusted by many Filipinos. There was a generation gap between these older politicians and members of the new, more militant, "cause-oriented" groups who viewed politicians as elitist has-beens. Indeed, many of these groups proliferated after Aquino's assassination. These included independent peace and human rights organizations led by ex-Senator Jose Diokno, along with ad-hoc groups that were inspired by the National Democratic Front, an organization linked to the Communist Party of the Philippines.[146] Others included the August Twenty-one Movement (ATOM) and Justice for All (JAJA). These groups were organizations of middle-class professionals, including students and church officials, whose primary focus was agitating for social reform.[147]

Compounding the fractiousness was the political ambitions of opposition leaders, many of whom desired to be the candidate to run against President Marcos. The abundance of parties meant that no leader stood out as the person behind whom the opposition could rally. It was previously assumed that Benigno Aquino would return to the Philippines to become this rallying figure, given that no one had the personality nor the reputation to command the respect of the opposition to the extent Aquino could. Aquino's death put an end to this aspiration, because although his ultimate sacrifice altered the national mood, it was a massive blow to the opposition.[148]

The opposition's inability to make any headway in their attempts to depose Marcos despite the overwhelming mass disenchantment with the president suggests that a key part of the jigsaw was missing—the armed forces. Their defection was to prove crucial to the success of the uprising in February 1986.

Fissuring the AFP: The Consequence of Personalism in the Armed Forces

Despite Marcos's active role in appointing senior military officers who were positively disposed toward his regime, certain officers, like the erstwhile civilian political elites, still felt excluded. For the better part of two decades during his presidency, Marcos had the unenviable task of being caught between Gen. Fabien Ver and Gen. Fidel Ramos in their tussle for political control of the armed forces. The competition between the two officers was stark, with the *Far Eastern Economic Review* describing the Ramos-Ver struggle as "a fact" and "a talking point among military watchers for some years."[149] These words would prove to be prophetic as the actions of the AFP during the 1986 People Power revolt can be traced directly to the competition between the two from the early part of the Marcos presidency.

The origins of the Ramos-Ver rivalry began prior to the declaration of martial law in 1972, when Marcos called a meeting of the leading aspirants for the post of AFP chief of staff in Malacañang Palace. The president promised these senior officers that they would be appointed as chief of staff in order of seniority—Gen. Romeo Espino first, Gen. Rafael Ileto next, and finally, the youngest, Brig. Gen. Fidel Ramos. When Gen. Rafael Illeto refused to support Marcos's plans for martial law during planning sessions in 1972, the president pushed him aside in favor of other contenders for the post. However, rather than alienating either Ramos or Ver, Marcos retained Gen. Romeo Espino as chief of staff for a decade (1971–1981), an unprecedented length of service.[150]

In the early years of martial law, there was a balance-of-power between Ramos and Ver as each officer was given the opportunity to develop his own sphere of influence. Ramos was appointed chief of the Philippine Constabulary (PC) and also controlled the Integrated National Police (INP) when the latter merged with the PC in 1976.[151] This gave Ramos a monopoly over the law enforcement agencies.[152]

Fabian Ver's sphere of influence was the Presidential Security Command (PSC). When he was promoted to the rank of major general in December 1973, Ver transformed the Presidential Guard Battalion, a minor military unit charged with guarding the presidential palace, into the Presidential Security Command, one of the foremost within the AFP. At its height, the PSC was a modern, multiservice combat force of seven thousand men, equipped with tanks,

helicopters, and naval patrol ships, ostensibly to "safeguard" the president. Ver also assigned his sons to key postings in the PSC when they were old enough to join the military: Irwin became the PSC's chief of staff, Wyrlo commanded the PSC's antiaircraft unit, and Rexor directed the president's close-in security detail.[153]

The balance-of-power between Ramos and Ver within the AFP collapsed in the 1980s. When Marcos's health began to fail after years of chronic kidney disease caused by lupus, he decided to sign a secret decree designating his wife Imelda as his successor.[154] To secure this succession, Marcos decided that Ver and not Ramos would succeed Gen. Romeo Espino as chief of staff. Although Minister of National Defense Juan Ponce Enrile recommended Fidel Ramos for the top armed forces job, Marcos picked Ver, as he preferred a man of unquestioned personal loyalty. Ramos, on the other hand, appeared more independent minded.[155]

Following Ver's formal appointment as chief of staff in 1981, Marcos affirmed the general's preeminent status within the AFP chain of command with a presidential decree. Marcos explained in July 1983 that within the military hierarchy, only Ver was the president's direct link to the military and only he was authorized to "order the transfer or assignment of military men, move military contingents, or be responsible for decisions of an operational character as regards the military."[156]

With Marcos's endorsement, Ver moved to secure his political base within the armed forces and whittled down Ramos's influence. Ver used ethnicity, familial, and school ties as the basis for military command appointments.[157] As an alumnus of the University of Philippines Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC) program and head of its Vanguard Fraternity, Ver appointed his "brods" to key posts after his promotion, most notably the new army commander, Gen. Josephus Ramas; Adm. Brillante Ochoco, flag officer in command of the navy; Gen. Roland Pattugalan, commander of the Second Infantry Division; Col. Pedro Balbanero, chief of the Military Police; and Gen. Artemio Tadiar, marines commandant.[158] Juan Ponce Enrile observed that these appointments signaled "the generals in the supporting cast who surrounded Ver could not be retired" even after his departure from command.[159]

In 1982, with the announcement of the creation of the Regional Unified Commands (RUCs) in the Philippines, Ver now had authority over all military commands throughout the archipelago. Ver personally selected RUC commanders and had direct control over regional army, navy, air force, and marine

units, which now became part of the RUCs. The creation of RUCs diminished Ramos's control over the PC as regional constabulary heads now reported to the regional commander and then to Ver. Ramos's position within the AFP weakened in August 1983 when Marcos transferred control of the INP to Ver.[160]

During this time, Ver also centralized the armed forces' budgetary processes, denying all services, including Ramos's PC and INP, control over their finances. Ver, with his new authority, assigned PC officers without Ramos's knowledge. PC battalions were broken up and redeployed—one PC brigade was apparently pulled out of Metro-Manila and deployed to an undisclosed location.[161]

Ver also moved to ensure that Ramos would not succeed him after his retirement by designating Adm. Brillante Ochoco as his successor.[162] With Ver's cronies in place, even if Marcos bowed to international pressure, particularly from the United States, and appointed Ramos to succeed Ver, Ramos could not undo Ver's policies.[163]

Amelita Ramos, Fidel Ramos's wife, described her husband's dissatisfaction with Ver: "[Ramos] would find out only through the newspapers. They wouldn't even call him to attend meetings. The most they would give Eddie [Ramos] was the daily journal."[164]

Although Ramos never publicly articulated his antipathy toward Ver, his actions were indicative of such a sentiment. In October 1984, Ramos signaled his aversion towards Ver by refusing to sign a manifesto by sixty-eight AFP generals and flag officers that was published in the *Philippines Bulletin Today* expressing full support for the beleaguered Fabian Ver who was implicated in the assassination of Benigno Aquino. Ramos defended his absence stating that what was paramount was his allegiance and loyalty to the Philippine Constitution.[165]

Ramos did eventually become AFP chief of staff but only by default. Ramos assumed Ver's post after he was indicted for Benigno Aquino's murder in late 1984 and was pressured to go on leave by the Americans. Even then, Marcos's support for Ver was unwavering. Marcos feted the general, stating, "We are more than ever aware, General, that the circumstances under which the board has chosen to implicate you in its findings are fraught with doubt and great contradictions of opinion and testimony. And we are deeply disturbed that on the basis of so-called evidence you have been so accused by some members of the board."[166]

Ramos as acting AFP chief of staff tried to restore "moral discipline" within the AFP in an attempt to get a handle on the communist and Islamic insurgencies. Years of Marcos's interference in military promotions, where compliant Illocanos were placed in senior jobs, and the most effective military units were hoarded at Malacañang Palace and the Manila area for political advantage, had led to an inexorable decline in battlefield performance.[167] Ramos found that he was powerless to enact any reforms.[168] For example, when he ordered a redeployment of sixteen battalions to the countryside to counter the communist New People's Army's activities, Ver rescinded the order. Ramos eventually deployed ten battalions to the provinces when Marcos intervened after recovering from a kidney operation. Even then, the remaining six battalions were placed under the control of Ver's PSC and remained in Manila.[169]

At a November 1984 press conference, Ramos remarked he felt constrained by the lack of authority given to him to initiate any major reforms in the military. Ramos said that as acting chief of staff he was charged only with maintaining policy and commanding personnel, despite the urgent need to eliminate "within our ranks such . . . enemies as arrogance, ceremonial pomp, intrigue, waste, abuse of authority, laziness, corruption [and] divisiveness."[170] He urged officers in the field to solve problems on their own "before they get to Malacañang."[171]

Marcos sought to restrain Ramos's autonomy as acting chief of staff. He did so by reminding Ramos of his complicity in a PC and Civilian Home Defense Forces militia massacre of protestors in the town of Escalante, Negros Occidental, in September 1985. Although a commission of inquiry cleared Ramos of any wrongdoing, the incident remained his Achilles Heel. Marcos used the Escalante incident as an excuse to renege on his promise to retire Fabian Ver and promote Ramos. When the courts found Ver not guilty of Aquino's murder in December 1985, Marcos immediately reinstated Ver as AFP chief of staff. Two months later, Marcos announced that Ver would retire and Ramos would replace him. The following day at a press conference, Marcos reversed the decision. Marcos said that Ver would remain as a "consultant" to the military, would "probably" remain on the board of generals, and might continue as head of the National Intelligence and Security Authority. While Marcos said that Ramos would become acting chief of staff in Ver's place, he again reminded those present at the press briefing of Ramos's role in the massacre in Escalante.[172] Marcos then issued two further "clarifications" on Ver's retirement. The first

set General Ver's retirement back to March 1, 1986; the second on February 21, 1986, set Ver's retirement date as "indefinite." Concomitantly, Ver also made a series of "midnight appointments," a Philippine term for last-minute personnel shuffles—that put his staunch loyalists in key posts.[173]

Ramos was discontented with Marcos's continued references to the Escalante incident and Ver's continued attempts to undercut him before he assumed the post of acting of chief of staff. He even publicized a letter he wrote to Macros appealing for a final clearing of his name on the Escalante issue. Ramos declared, "He kept saying that I could not be assigned as chief of staff because I had this case against me . . . it became very clear that there was no intention of removing General Ver from his office."[174]

At this point, it may be prudent to ask why Ramos did not defect from Marcos prior to February 1986, particularly so given the blatant moves to sideline him. It could be argued that Ramos did not do so because he was caught off guard by Ver's acquittal of all charges stemming from the Aquino assassination. Ramos's optimism in being able to continue in his job was not unfounded, as many in the US government believed that a step forward to bringing stability back to the Philippines was the removal of Ver as AFP chief of staff. That was why the United States strongly backed the independence of the Agrava Board investigating Aquino's assassination and forced Marcos to accepting the initial investigation report into the assassination that implicated Ver and resulted in his subsequent leave of absence and trial. This also explains why Ross Munro in *Foreign Policy* magazine spelled out the preferred US scenario with such remarkable frankness in 1984: "Washington should signal Marcos that Ver's continuation as armed forces chief is unacceptable. No other single reform promises such an early payoff as does a halt in the armed forces' decay."[175]

Only a few days before the People Power revolution, Ramos went to Malacañang Palace and asked Marcos to clarify his position vis-à-vis Ver. In what proved to be a costly error, Marcos reprimanded Ramos for questioning his judgment as commander in chief.[176] This confrontation with Marcos was Ramos's tipping point and made it easy for Ramos to join Juan Ponce Enrile when he called on Saturday afternoon (February 22) and asked Ramos to join in the mutiny against Marcos.[177] Ramos's response was unequivocal: "I am with you all the way."[178]

In announcing his defection on February 22, Ramos was explicit about Ver's moves to undercut his authority in the AFP:

> It had been building up in my perception that General Ver and the President are bent on perpetuating themselves in power, by their flip-flopping statements and by their pre-positioning of officers of the armed forces without consultation with the Minister of National Defense and myself as chief of a major service and vice Chief-of-Staff, later designated by the President as acting Chief-of-Staff with clipped authority. . . .
>
> Now, there are many officers close to General Ver who did not do anything except to be assigned in Malacañang and to travel back and forth from the Palace and abroad during the period of hardship of our armed forces in the '70s. Yet they have risen to very high ranks not because of what they know or what have done, but because of their closeness to the President and General Ver.[179]

The Coming Together of the Anti-Marcos Coalition

Ramos's decision to join forces with Enrile to defect was a crucial turning point in the long struggle in the ousting of the Marcos dictatorship. But Ramos's decision to abandon the president was no guarantee of success, neither was it forgone that the entire AFP would switch sides. Vital in this regard was the support he and Enrile received from key players within the country and abroad.

Ramos had the backing of a broad coalition of anti-Marcos figures and groups, prior to and after his public defection on February 22. This wide-ranging group included elites who, like the Laurels, as earlier discussed, had won positions or benefited economically during the martial law era but had become disaffected with the Marcos regime. Others included technocratic elements of the bureaucracy, the Filipino Catholic Church, and the business community.

While massive popular support coalesced around Corazon Aquino, the anti-Marcos movement knew Aquino was merely riding on the wave of resentment against Marcos's role in her husband's assassination. They viewed the support for Aquino as transient because she had no permanent political base. They were also concerned that mass support for Aquino could get out of control and might be vulnerable to provocation (from pro-Marcos elements), which could then trigger a bloodbath and subsequent polarization.[180]

Another fear the domestic opposition held was a sudden death of Marcos, a distinct possibility given his chronic illness, lupus. Marcos unexpected demise could trigger a coup d'état and a power struggle among the pro-Marcos elite.

The Philippine military could step in and become the final arbiter of power in an uncertain political scenario. Therefore, it was crucial that an acceptable figure in uniform was on their side of the opposition. The opposition believed Lt. Gen. Fidel Ramos would be the rallying point in a post-Marcos scenario as he was widely respected within the ranks and was also acceptable to the United States.[181]

Ramos and Enrile could not succeed in their mutiny without broader public support. The cluster of anti-Marcos forces that rallied behind him and Enrile in February was crucial in this regard as it encompassed the broad demographic of Filipino society. It included the Catholic Church, which represented about 85 percent of the population, and portions of Corazon Aquino's support base—the most visible symbol of opposition against the Marcos regime. Significant too were portions of the business community who controlled the vast wealth of the country.

Support for the Mutiny

Catholic Church

Perhaps the most critical segment to support the Ramos-Enrile defection and ensure the mutiny's viability was the Philippine Catholic Church. Crucially for the two, on the night of February 22, after Ramos and Enrile had announced their withdrawal of support for the Marcos regime, Radio Veritas, the Catholic radio station, broadcast a call by Cardinal Sin urging Filipinos to "support our two good friends at the camp" and to

> go to Aguinaldo and show your solidarity with them in this crucial period. Our two good friends have shown their idealism. Take them food if you wish. Keep them safe. I would be very happy if you help them in any way you can. We must all pray to Our Lady that we solve these problems peacefully, without bloodshed. I am sorry to disturb you at this late hour, but it is precisely at a time like this that we most need your support.[182]

Within hours, a crowd of some fifty thousand people gathered within the gates of Camp Aguinaldo.[183] Thereafter, the size of the crowd outside the military camps grew to such immense proportions that the troops sent by Marcos to root out rebel soldiers were unable to advance. The tanks eventually turned around and returned to their camps.[184] The throngs of supporters numbering in the hundreds of thousands no doubt played a significant role in sparking further military defections from authoritarian rule.

The church's decision to unequivocally back Ramos and Enrile must be viewed within the context of a growing dissatisfaction among politically moderate and conservative bishops with the Marcos regime. The Catholic Bishops' Conference of the Philippines (CBCP) had grown weary of the graft and corruption, economic mismanagement, and human rights abuses of the Marcos government. As early as 1979, the CBCP issued a number of pastoral letters critical of the Marcos's economic and human rights policies. The key issue was social justice: Marcos's manipulation of the government machinery to the advantage of his relatives and political cronies came at the expense of nearly everyone else, especially the poor whose economic position deteriorated significantly during Marcos's presidency.[185] Following Benigno Aquino's assassination, church-Marcos relations turned even more acrimonious. Cardinal Sin openly supported the flurry of peaceful demonstrations against the regime, prompting Marcos to accuse him in October 1984 of attempting to "destabilize the nation." On the second anniversary of Aquino's assassination, Sin denounced Marcos for "deception" in the murder case and endorsed the people's desire for "a new politics founded on the morality of justice and truth."[186] Cardinal Sin also played an instrumental role in bringing Salvador Laurel and Corazon Aquino to form a united opposition presidential and vice presidential team to contest the February 1986 snap elections. In the run up to the February polls, he issued two strongly worded pastoral letters on the conduct of campaigning and elections, enjoining all eligible Filipinos to vote and to work for a "peaceful and honest" election, emphasizing that participation in these polls was "an exercise of . . . Christian faith" as well as a "political act."[187]

Cardinal Sin and many in the Catholic Church hierarchy actively provided institutional support to the opposition. Fear of a crackdown and the frequent denial of government permits for assembly led many in the opposition to hold their protests in churches. Repression in these places of worship would have risked the ire of the bishops. In the Bishops-Businessmen's Conference for Human Development (BBC), Sin established a number of contacts with business executives, which he eventually tapped into to assist the anti-Marcos opposition. Jose Concepcion Jr., the head of Republic Flour Mills, one of the Philippine's largest industrial firms, and businessmen Vicente Jayme and Dante Santos were part of Sin's inner circle. With help from the church, BBC business leaders set up the opposition-oriented Veritas radio, television, and magazine, and also became the independent electoral watchdog group NAMFREL (National Citizens' Movement for Free Elections).[188]

Veritas subsequently played an especially important role during the mutiny. The most crucial media link between Enrile and Ramos and the masses was the Catholic station Radio Veritas. Only Radio Veritas broadcasted a blow-by-blow account of the unfolding military rebellion. Radio Veritas also carried Cardinal Sin's plea to the people to protect the rebels at Camps Crame and Aguinaldo. Radio Veritas also set up equipped VHF equipment within Camp Crame to continually broadcast messages from Enrile and Ramos.[189]

But more pertinently for this study, the Philippine Catholic Church had been supportive of elements within the AFP who were anti-Marcos. Church leaders reacted favorably to the efforts of the Reform AFP Movement (RAM) in establishing Kamalayan'86 (Consciousness'86), a program to support the earlier call from Cardinal Sin for fair and honest elections. RAM was started in 1982 with the support of Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile and nominally headed by Enrile's chief security officer Lt. Col. Gregorio (Gringo) Honasan. The emergence of RAM was principally a reaction of young AFP officers against the widespread corruption in the military, promotions based on favoritism, and the problem of "overstaying" generals who blocked the career advancement of these officers.[190]

Among the activities of Kamalayan'86 were a series of prayer seminars throughout the country on the issues of the campaign and the conduct of the election. Some of these seminars were held with clergy in attendance. RAM members also distributed some forty thousand letters to soldiers, government officials, and teachers explaining the objectives of Kamalayan'86 and worked closely with church and civic groups. RAM also declared that it would work to prevent electoral cheating and that it would support the Aquino-Laurel ticket.[191]

Businesses

A staunch supporter of Ramos in the early 1980s was Mrs. Betty Go-Belmonte, a newspaper publisher, member of the Makati Business Club, and the wife of the former speaker of the Philippines House of Representatives, Feliciano Go-Belmonte. She had strong ties to the business community and had often urged the general to turn against Marcos.[192]

Betty Go-Belmonte's opposition to the Marcos regime reflected the sentiments of the larger business community. Following Aquino's assassination, business leaders organized huge antigovernment demonstrations. Many were spooked by the abrupt capital flight and the continued economic malaise. An estimated US$700 million left the Philippines because of the nonrenewal of

short-term revolving credits and exits through the black market. Philippine reserves slumped from US$2.4 billion to just about US$600 million in the eight weeks following Aquino's assassination. Subsequently, foreign reserves became even scarcer, raising the prospect of production cutbacks and massive worker layoffs because of the inability of industry to import raw materials. The business community realized that to survive, they needed to assert themselves. Makati, the financial district of Manila, became the scene of repeated demonstrations by executives and office workers. The Philippine Chamber of Commerce sent a letter to Marcos complaining that the climate of "uncertainty" growing out of the Aquino slaying was stifling economic progress. A statement to President Marcos from the Philippine Business Conference, signed by the presidents of the Philippine, Filipino-Chinese, American, Australian, European, and Japanese Chambers of Commerce in November 1983, noted that the country was facing its most critical period in economic history and called for dramatic political changes, including having an independent and honest judiciary, the restoration of public constitutional rights, relief from pervasive militarism, and clear legal provisions for a successor to the president to restore domestic and international confidence in the Philippine economy.[193]

The Domestic Opposition

Ramos received support from some of the domestic anti-Marcos groups prior to his defection on February 22. A group of demonstrators called Cory's Crusaders, who were part of Corazon Aquino's grassroots movement, were demonstrating outside of Ramos's house, urging him to rebel days before Ramos's public announcement of his defection. Ramos's sister, Ambassador Letty Ramos-Shahani, who had just resigned as the United Nations assistant secretary-general for Social and Human Development to assist Corazon Aquino's presidential campaign, also urged him to rise up against Marcos before February 22.[194]

In addition, the opposition had hoped that the armed forces group Kamalayan'86 with RAM would serve as a check against the pro-Marcos military in the run up to the February 1986 snap elections. During the polls, RAM had provided intelligence to the opposition about the government's plans to use fraud and violence but because the group was small, it could do little to keep most of the military from electioneering on Marcos's behalf.[195]

A secular version of Cardinal Sin's call to support Enrile and Ramos at camps Crame and Aguinaldo was also sounded by Agapito "Butz" Aquino, Benigno

Aquino's brother and the leader of the August Twenty-one Movement, which had organized many street demonstrations following Benigno's 1983 assassination. In the late hours of February 22, Butz Aquino led about fifteen thousand demonstrators to Camps Aguinaldo and Crame to support Enrile and Ramos. In speaking about his decision to support the military rebellion, Butz Aquino said that although he did not know Enrile, he was familiar with Ramos "and it seemed out of character for him to get involved in a con game."[196]

While large segments of the anti-Marcos opposition collaborated with the military to bring down the Marcos regime, Corazon Aquino remained cautious of Enrile and Ramos. She refused to meet Enrile and RAM in a January 1986 meeting for a proposed committee that would run the country after the military coup. Aquino may have correctly guessed that Enrile hoped to head this committee while having Benigno's widow merely to serve as a figurehead.[197] It took some persuasion from Cardinal Sin before Corazon finally decided to side with Enrile and Ramos's defection. Cardinal Sin told Mrs. Aquino in a phone call on the night of the mutiny, "This might be the miracle I promised you. This is the answer to our prayers. Without this [defection], you could go on protesting and boycotting forever, but you would still not be president. Marcos would never give up. Maybe this is the only way."[198]

American Support for Regime Change

The United States was the Philippines' most important ally and had immense political leverage over the Marcos regime.[199] America had supplied almost 80 percent of the country's military aid since the 1970s.[200] American bases in the Philippines employed more than forty-two thousand Filipinos and pumped much needed foreign capital into the Filipino economy—about US$350 million, a sum equal to some 5 percent of the Philippines' national GNP.[201] This figure was further enhanced through a multiplier effect in the form of secondary employment, spending by the sixteen thousand US military and civilian personnel and their twenty-five thousand dependents, and the direct American purchase of goods and services from Filipino suppliers. The presence of American military bases was, until the Aquino assassination, a visible manifestation of security and stability, and helped generate foreign investor confidence in the future of the country. The American bases were likewise a large source of economic support for the Marcos government, coming in the form of direct development assistance and indirectly through the offsetting of military expenditures derived from domestic tax revenues.[202]

For the United States, the military bases in the Philippines were important strategic assets. The bases were key transshipment points for US logistical resupply efforts for military contingencies throughout the Western Pacific, Indian Ocean, and Persian Gulf. American military power, as projected through the bases, facilitated the protection of vital air and sea lanes extending from the Indian Ocean and the South China Sea, northward to Japan. America's military presence in the Philippines thus helped assure these countries that it was committed to the protection of oil supply and maritime commerce routes in the region.[203]

Two events led to a reassessment about the viability of the Marcos regime and the need for changes in American foreign policy toward the Philippines. The first event was the May 1984 National Assembly elections, which showed the surprising strength of the opposition to the Marcos regime. Despite a large boycott from opposition parties and obvious government fraud, the opposition parties that did contest won roughly one-third of the 183 seats in the assembly. The results revealed the depth of popular discontent with Marcos, but more important, showed the existence of a moderate Filipino constituency that American policymakers could justify supporting.[204]

The second event was the visit to Manila in June 1984 by Adm. William Crowe, the outgoing commander of American forces in the Pacific. On his return to Washington, Crowe briefed senior officials, including President Ronald Reagan, on the Philippine situation and expressed grave concern about the rise of the communist insurgency. Marcos's failure to implement military reforms to combat insurgency was of particular concern. The trend of the insurgency portended an ominous future. The Philippines was alone among Southeast Asian countries with a Communist insurgency that was advancing rapidly and active in all of the country's provinces.[205] The situation was compounded because Ver-appointed generals displayed a lack of urgency and chose instead to report to Marcos information they believed the president wanted to hear.[206]

The switch of American support for Ramos became clear after the assassination of Benigno Aquino in 1984. American diplomatic staff in Manila regarded Gen. Fabien Ver as "a Marcos bodyguard who got promoted way past his level of competence." Their preferred candidate for AFP chief of staff was Ramos, whom they viewed as a consummate professional.[207]

In March 1985, when Richard Armitage, assistant secretary of defense for International Security Affairs, and Paul Wolfowitz, assistant secretary of state for East Asia and the Pacific, visited Manila, both officials delivered an un-

equivocal message on Ver: he and the army were part of the problem, not the solution, and it was in everyone's interests that Ver not be reinstated even if he was acquitted of conspiring to assassinate Benigno Aquino.[208]

When Fidel Ramos and Juan Ponce Enrile announced their defection, it drew the support of the United States. Senator Richard Lugar, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, endorsed Ramos and Enrile's actions on February 22. He indicated that the United States had consistently sided with "Gen. Ramos and the younger officers to bring about a spirit of reform" and pointedly stated that the United States wanted "Gen. Ver out of there."[209]

Later that day, the White House issued a statement questioning the "credibility and legitimacy" of Marcos's February 1986 election victory and stated also that it shared the concerns of rebellious military leaders demanding his resignation:

> These statements [by Enrile and Ramos] strongly reinforce our concerns that the recent presidential elections were marred by fraud, perpetrated overwhelmingly by the ruling party, so extreme as to undermine the credibility and legitimacy of the election and impair the capacity of the government of the Philippines to cope with a growing insurgency and a troubled economy.
>
> Many authoritative voices in the Philippines have been raised in support of nonviolence. We support these voices and expect them to be respected. We also support resolution of the issues involved by all the people of the Philippines as quickly as possible.[210]

The United States also issued a clear threat to Marcos and proregime military officers to refrain from mounting a crackdown. As noted earlier in this chapter, White House spokesperson Larry Speakes warned Marcos that the United States would cease military assistance if the Philippine Government used American aid against other elements of the Philippine military which enjoyed "substantial popular backing."[211]

By February 24, the American government's position was clear—Marcos should not continue as president of the Republic of the Philippines. On Capitol Hill, Secretary of State George Shultz briefed senators and House members on the Reagan administration's efforts to end the Philippine crisis. In his briefing, Shultz outlined the administration's twofold goals: "to avoid immediate violence" and "to assist a peaceful transition of power in the short-term." Shultz added:

> Our most effective policy instrument in the last few days has been our public statements. These have escalated as the threat of violence has become more imminent, to include Sunday's warning that aid would be suspended if force was used and this morning's statement that a transition to a new government is necessary.
>
> Our goals in the next week or two would be to facilitate transition to a new government, though that seems to be happening fast; and to assist and urge the new government to address pressing economic and military problems.[212]

In the early hours of February 25, America's message to Marcos was unequivocal. When Marcos telephoned Senator Paul Laxalt to inquire if the message he heard earlier from Washington calling for "a peaceful transition" to a new government actually meant he should quit, Laxalt said yes. Laxalt subsequently told Marcos that it would be "impractical" for the president to share power with Corazon Aquino and "undignified" for him to remain in the Philippines. Laxalt eventually advised Marcos to "cut and cut cleanly. The time has come."[213]

Cascade of Defections within the Armed Forces

It was this context of gathering domestic and foreign opposition to Marcos and support for the mutiny led by Ramos and Enrile that sparked the cascade of defections within the armed forces, particularly from pro-Marcos officers. The trend of a snowballing mutiny could be seen as early as the first day of the rebellion. As detailed at the outset, chief of PC-METROCOM, Gen. Propsero Olivas, was one of the first to join the Enrile-Ramos rebellion. With Olivas onboard, this made it unlikely that the rest of PC-INP would react to Marcos's orders.[214] By the second day of the rebellion, 95 percent of the PC commands in the field or roughly 200,000 men pledged their loyalty to Ramos. This number included sixty-one provincial commanders and seven Metropolitan District Command chiefs.[215]

Thereafter, Cmdr. Tagumpay Jardiniano, commander of Naval Patrol Force, whose naval gunships were anchored in Manila Bay, defected.[216] As for the rest of the Philippine Navy, Cmdr. Procesco Maligalig, then Naval Operations assistant chief and Capt. Carlito Cunanan, Naval Operating Forces deputy chief, switched allegiances and joined Commander Tagumpay. But they, like many ranking naval officers, kept their defections secret for fear of reprisals. As Adm. Brillante Ochoco, flag officer in command of the Navy, was holed in the presidential palace with Ver and Marcos most of the time, it was

only after midnight of February 23 when he learned that 85 percent of his naval command had deserted Marcos.[217] By February 23, Ramos had assurances of support from commanders of the RUCs in the central and western Visayas, central and western Mindanao, Metro Manila, and from the headquarters of the army and navy.[218]

In the Philippine Air Force, as detailed earlier, Col. Antonio Sotelo and the Fifteenth Strike Wing were the first to offer Enrile and Ramos support on February 24. It was the Fifteenth Strike Wing that sent their helicopters to Camp Crame and later attacked Malacañang Palace. As mentioned earlier as well, on February 24, fighter pilots from the Fifth Fighter Wing at Basa Air Base flew their aircraft to Clark Air Base where their planes were "grounded" on the pretext of lack of fuel so they would not be used by Ver and Marcos.

Within the army, Ramos received support from the elite Scout Rangers. The First Scout Ranger Regiment was one of the few fighting units considered loyal to Marcos; Brig. Gen. Brawner had even appeared at an earlier press conference alongside Marcos on February 24.[219]

There were also defections within the AFP General Headquarters. One significant defection was that of the deputy chief of staff for Intelligence, Gen. Seapio Martilland, who had sat with other generals behind Marcos at an earlier press conference, pledging their loyalty to the president. Other AFP General Headquarters defections included the deputy chief of staff for plans, Brigadier General Paiso; and Brig. Gen. Eduardo Ermita, the judge advocate general.[220]

On February 25, the officers, cadets, and enlisted personnel of the Philippine Military Academy declared their support for Enrile and Ramos.[221] That afternoon, the Aviation Security Command (AVSECOM) announced that they were deserting the Marcos regime. Troops from AVSECOM thereafter controlled Manila International Airport and began supervising flight operations.[222] By the end of that day, the American Embassy in Manila noted that

> defections within the armed forces have snowballed to the point that Marcos has control over a rapidly dwindling military base of questionable morale . . . the final result is no longer in doubt. . . . The defections with the AFP officer corps have undoubtedly affected Gen. Ver's staff capability. The absence of an effort to mount any serious counterattack during the night of February 24–25 on installations held by the Enrile-Ramos forces reflects the unraveling of Ver's command and control.[223]

The final nail in the coffin for Ver and Marcos came the evening of February 25 as their families were planning to flee Malacañang Palace. Although Marcos's personal fleet of helicopters based at Malacañang Palace was fueled and ready for flight, the pilots handpicked by Ver disappeared. The naval patrol craft assigned to protect the palace also defected.[224] Colonel Antonio Sotelo, who defected with the Fifteenth Strike Wing, aptly summed up the circumstances leading to the disappearances of the pilots: "The Marcos pilots had left their planes as early as Monday afternoon [February 24]. . . . And that to me, is a pretty damning comment. These were the people you'd expect to be the most loyal to the President. They are the ones to whom he had entrusted his life, and the lives of his family. Yet even they left him at the most crucial moment."[225]

Conclusion

The term *People Power* has become ubiquitous around the world. However, we should not forget the phenomenon where unarmed protestors gather to challenge autocratic rule gained popularity through the Philippine experience. This was the focus of this chapter, the popular protests in February 1986 when demonstrators thronged the streets of Manila to safeguard a mutiny. Eventually, after several days of protesting, the Philippine military defected and Marcos fled the country into exile. This chapter explained why the military, Marcos's key tool for regime maintenance throughout his time in office, turned its backs on his government (table 3.4).

The key finding in this chapter is that personalization of autocratic rule in the Philippines led eventually to the demise of the Marcos regime. More specifically for this study, which focuses on the military's response to popular

Table 3.4. Key findings

Form of authoritarian institution	Personalistic
Military defection	Yes. Gen. Fidel Ramos and eventually entire AFP deserts Marcos.
Pact	Yes. Catholic Church, businesses, domestic opposition, United States.
Outcome of popular revolt	Demonstrations persist. Authoritarian rule collapses.

demonstrations, this chapter has demonstrated that Marcos's personalization of the armed forces led to an all-or-nothing struggle for leadership of the military between Fabien Ver and Fidel Ramos. When Fidel Ramos decided to join Juan Ponce Enrile and defect from the Marcos regime, a broad coalition of anti-Marcos forces supported the mutiny and within days, the entire armed forces withdrew their backing for Marcos. A similar process of personalistic dictatorial rule and its impact on the military in Indonesia under president Suharto will be the focus of discussion in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

Personalism in Indonesia

The Fall of Suharto (1998)

The Asian Financial Crisis: Chipping the Edifice of Suharto's New Order

It appeared that the good times were rolling along for Indonesia in 1997. The country had GDP growth of almost 8 percent in the previous year, and foreign investment stood at around US$6 billion. Inflation was also down to 6.6 percent, and Indonesia's foreign exports raced past the US$50 billion mark. Economists, however, noted some serious irregularities with this seemingly rosy picture. For one, the proliferation of private banks and more pertinently, profligate borrowing and the rising level of bad debts were beginning to be a cause for concern. The World Bank's May 1997 annual report entitled *Sustaining High Growth with Equity* noted some of the healthy-looking aspects but also sounded a warning about the weak banking sector.[1]

This façade soon came crashing down. Following Thailand a few months earlier, Indonesia's foreign exchange reserves came under attack by international currency speculators in July 1997. Rather than deplete the country's reserves in combating these speculative currency attacks, the Indonesian government decided to float the rupiah, the Indonesian currency. In doing so, the rupiah slipped 2 percent in July 1997 and tumbled down 9 percent a month later. By the end of August, the rupiah went into free fall and interest rates in the country soared. "Overconfidence in Indonesia's economy quickly switched to under-confidence."[2]

As money began fleeing the economy, Indonesian companies began selling their rupiah dominated holding to cover US dollar–denominated debts. The quick fire sale of Indonesian rupiah triggered a vicious cycle of events as the currency's slide brought companies closer to bankruptcy.[3]

In October 1997, the Indonesian government called in the International Monetary Fund (IMF) for assistance when their attempts to stem the continued slide of the rupiah and the stock market failed. A month later, the IMF approved a US$43 billion credit package to assist the ailing economy, with firm conditions attached, aimed at weakening commercial monopolies and improving competitiveness. The crisis worsened when Suharto repeatedly attempted to renegotiate, or delay implementation of, the IMF conditions, especially those cutting food and fuel price subsidies. Many commentators saw this as an attempt to protect his family's economic interests. By the end of 1997, the rupiah nose-dived to five thousand to the US dollar, making it the largest devaluation in the world in 1997. The stock market lost more than half its value, and inflation steadily crept up to double digits. The dramatic collapse of the currency and the stock market brought economic activity in Indonesia to a screeching halt.

Suharto started 1998 displaying a curious lack of understanding of the seriousness of the economic crisis befalling his regime. The president presented his annual budget speech in January 1998 guided by a rupiah foreign exchange rate six months out of date coupled with wildly optimistic projections of growth for a country that was close to bankruptcy. Indonesia's stock market and currency continued to plunge and panic buying began to be seen in shops. With no end to the economic malaise in sight, Suharto was forced to seek a second loan deal with the IMF in January.[4]

Days after the second IMF bailout package, Suharto indicated that he would seek a seventh term in office. He also signaled that Bacharuddin Jusuf (B. J.) Habibie, the research and technology minister behind wasteful national airplane and shipyard projects, was his choice for vice president. The financial markets responded to Suharto's intentions by plunging to seventeen thousand rupiahs to the dollar.[5]

Suharto was reelected to the presidency in March 1998 but continued to be remarkably unaware of the dire economic problems the country faced. On his reelection, he announced a new "crony" cabinet, with his daughter as social minister, and his golfing partner, Mohamad "Bob" Hasan, as the trade and industry minister. The composition of this new cabinet signaled beyond a doubt that Suharto was now an old and defiant tyrant, entirely out of touch with the realities his country faced. As if to further reinforce how far removed Suharto was, fuel and electricity subsidies were removed in early May, triggering a sharp spike in food prices, adding further misery to the already distressed population.[6]

As Indonesia's economy floundered, demonstrations erupted on university campuses across the country. Student protestors rallied against Suharto's candidacy for the presidency and called instead for democratic reform in the government. These protests gathered pace when a senior army officer, Maj. Gen. Djadja Suparman, in contrast to the regime's prior practice of harsh repression, denied that demonstrations were prohibited and said that these should "occur in participants' respective places." Suparman added that if students moved into the streets, the military would take firm action.[7] Other government and military officials also echoed Suparman's earlier pronouncement. Students took this to mean that the long-held government prohibition on campus protests would now be tolerated as government officials distinguished between the permissible (on campus protests) and prohibited (outside campuses). From February 1998 onward, student demonstrations appeared across the archipelago. Students held *mimbar bebas* (open fora), undertook hunger strikes, and organized *aksi keprihatinan* (demonstrations of uneasiness) designed to avoid antagonizing authorities and to send principled messages (in the moral force tradition).[8]

After the parliamentary session in March 1998, student demonstrations against the reelection of Suharto and oil and electricity price hikes became more sustained. One of the largest protests occurred in early March at Yogyakarta's Gadjah Mada University when ten thousand students marched down the university's main avenue. In April 1998, the first coordinated multicampus protests took place on the initiative of a broad activist front called the Urban Forum (Forum Kota, or Forkot).[9] A fresh input of IMF funds in early May 1998 did little to stabilize the deteriorating economic situation or the increasingly volatile domestic political environment as further cuts in government subsidies pushed fuel prices up.

President Suharto had given clears orders to the military (Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia, or ABRI) to suppress the student demonstrations as early as February 1998. Speaking at the close of a three-day conference for senior military commanders in Jakarta, Suharto said:

> In this environment there are signs that certain parties are using this chance to achieve their political objectives, which have not been achieved as of now through democratic and constitutional means. . . . To face all of this [demonstrations], I call for the re-activation of military alert posts . . . military and legal officials should take firm action without hesitation towards whatever and whom-

> ever violates the law. . . . Illegal acts, particularly those that can endanger a lot of people, cannot be allowed and must be acted against.[10]

In April 1998, Suharto delivered a similar warning in a statement read out at the Forty-sixth anniversary celebrations of Kopassus (Army Special Forces). The president expressed "hope" that "the people, local officials and police can maintain national security and order without the involvement of Kopassus troops."[11] On May 9, the president admonished the protestors: "For those who break the law through the use of force, the armed forces will take action to protect national stability and political stability."[12] Despite these orders, the armed forces left the student demonstrators largely unmolested.[13]

Military Withdrawal of Support for Suharto's New Order

General Wiranto, the commander of the armed forces, and other senior officers in his circle were consistently conciliatory to the student protestors from February to May 1998.[14] Wiranto described the students' calls as "normal" and said that "ABRI will respect their demands as long as they are constructive."[15] Rather than use force to suppress the protests, as the president would have liked, General Wiranto and various senior military officers staged a series of "open dialogues" with student activists. The largest of these dialogues took place on April 25, when several hundred students from regional branches of the Muhammadiyah (the second largest Islamic grouping in Indonesia), assembled in Jakarta to meet with the head of Social-Political Affairs, Lt. Gen. Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono. A week before Suharto's resignation, Wiranto called the students' demands for reform "moral" and said that the military will "discuss further these reforms and hope that in the not too distant future, we will have put together some principal thoughts on reforms."[16] The commander of the Jakarta military garrison, Maj. Gen. Syafrie Syamsuddin, likewise suggested in April 1998 that the students were "a moral and intellectual force" contributing to the "development of the nation." He said that as long as the students were "productive" and "ethical," "everything was alright."[17]

The military's support for the student movement against Suharto was more noticeable toward the end of Suharto's time in office. In May 1998, the armed forces permitted the demonstrators to move outside of the university campuses. Student leader Hariadi Darmawan, who had been instrumental in helping students organize rallies, approached General Wiranto and explained that

large numbers of students planned to march into parliament the next morning and wanted to avoid a showdown with security forces. Wiranto agreed and sought to confine the protests to the parliament complex area where the students could vent their anger and avoid a wider security disturbance. Wiranto then ordered Maj. Gen. Syafrie Syamsuddin to let students into the parliament complex unhindered. When the students entered the parliamentary complex, the military made no attempt to stop the student protestors from climbing onto the roof of the main building where they later unfurled banners demanding political reform and Suharto's resignation. The military offered transportation from their campuses to the students as well. Most students declined this assistance.[18] Members of the military officers' wives club were also seen distributing food and snacks to the student protestors at the parliamentary complex.[19]

Wiranto issued similar orders to the regional commanders around Indonesia, as there were no major incidents when students in other provinces followed the example of their Jakarta colleagues and marched to local parliaments. Commander of the Wirabuana Regional Army Command, Maj. Gen. Suaidi Marasabessy, even let students in Makassar ride the army's armored vehicles to enter the local parliament building, clearly symbolizing the military's support for the students' cause.[20] In the central Java city of Yogyakarta, hundreds of thousands of people rallied on May 20 outside the sultan's palace while some twenty thousand demonstrated at Solo's city council.

Perhaps the most visible manifestation of military defection from the Suharto regime was General Wiranto's refusal to adhere to the president's directive to impose martial law and a state of emergency. This order would have given the military leadership the authority to handle civil disobedience and forego the reporting of military actions (including the use of force) to the president and parliament.[21] Wiranto instead deliberately steered the president away from such a course of action and told him that it was no longer possible for the military to suppress the protests.[22] Wiranto then asked the president to resign with the assurance that the military would ensure his and his family's safety.[23] Wiranto said, "I talked to Pak Harto [Suharto] on 20 May. I said to him that ABRI could no longer maintain national stability. Then I said ABRI would protect him if he was ready to step down. He then gave me a letter of presidential mandate which authorized me to take any necessary action to maintain security and stability."[24] Lieutenant General Susilo Bambang Yudoyono, chief of the Department of Social-Political Affairs, corroborated this: "We communicated to Suharto that he should realize that the people want

change, that the situation is critical, and to consider the possibility of handing over power."[25] With unprecedented mass protests and support among the military elite and his staunchest political followers clearly crumbling, Suharto finally resigned on May 21, handing over power to his deputy, Vice President B. J. Habibie.

The armed forces' inaction in 1998 contrasts starkly with their past repressive behavior where they had been quick to forcefully suppress any political opposition to the regime. Some of these incidents include the Tanjung Priok incident of 1984, the Lampung crackdown in 1989, and the Dili (Santa Cruz) massacre of 1991. Why did the Indonesian military side with the student demonstrations from February to May 1998?

Authoritarianism during the New Order Period: From Military-Technocratic Oligarchy to Personalistic Rule

To explain why ABRI and its senior commanders, particularly those personally appointed by Suharto, defected in May 1998, we need to go back to the start of the New Order period and understand the evolution of authoritarian rule in Indonesia.[26] In this chapter I examine the nature of the New Order regime, contrasting authoritarianism in the early part of the Suharto presidency with that of his later years in office. Evident from the ensuing discussion will be how the New Order regime began first as a fairly collegial and plural regime underpinned by a military-technocratic oligarchy, evolving later into a highly personalistic pyramidal power structure by the mid-1990s, backed by military and civilian organizations.[27] The highly personalistic character of the regime created conditions favorable for the defection of stalwarts in the armed forces in the 1990s (table 4.1).

The Early New Order Period: Military-Technocratic Oligarchy

Suharto came into power in the wake of an abortive military putsch in October 1965 that was blamed on the Indonesian Communist Party (Partai Komunis Indonesia, or PKI). Through the "Letter of 11 March" (*Supersemar*, *Surat Perintah 11 Maret*), President Sukarno tasked General Suharto, who was then commander of Kostrad (Army Strategic Reserves), and also the most senior officer in the armed forces to survive the coup attempt, "to take all measures considered necessary to guarantee security, calm and stability of the government and the revolution and to guarantee the personal safety and authority of Sukarno."[28] Harold Crouch describes Sukarno's presentation of the Supersemar

Table 4.1. Suharto's New Order: Military-technocratic oligarchy to personalistic rule

	Form of authoritarian institution		
	Oligarchic, 1965–1974	Increasing personalism, 1975–1988	Personalistic, 1988–1998
Main features	Wide-ranging autonomy given to Aspri, and economic technocrats Challenges to Suharto's authority from the military	Increasing centralization of political power, especially in the armed forces Removal of political opponents	Personal authority at peak Loyalists in command of military First Family ascendant
Principal power relationships	Suharto, Aspri, and economic technocrats	Suharto and Benny Murdani	Suharto, military loyalists, and First Family

as the "disguised coup of 11 March" in which Suharto used the letter as raison d'être to establish the New Order regime.[29]

The vision of the New Order regime was to create a strong state, insulated from the interests of particularistic social groups based on ethnicity, religion, or geography—transgressions the Sukarno presidency were guilty of, particularly during the Guided Democracy period. According to Ruth McVey, the core beliefs of this group were that "popular participation in politics must be strictly limited . . . and what mattered was material accomplishment of development."[30] Political order and economic development were seen as two sides of the same coin.[31]

With the Supersemar, Suharto moved cautiously to edge Sukarno out of power. Pockets of support for Sukarno were still deeply entrenched in parts of Central and East Java, and within the armed forces. Suharto used the meetings of the provisional Peoples' Consultative Assembly (Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat, or MPR) to endorse his authority and his plans to rehabilitate the country. Suharto moved subsequently to reconstitute the cabinet by replacing former supporters of Sukarno with his own and gradually rooted out pro-Sukarnoists

from key positions in the military and civil service. He resisted calls for more uncompromising measures, preferring instead to rely on compromise and the manipulation of support for his nascent government in the provisional Peoples' Consultative Assembly so as to highlight the difference between Sukano's "deviations" from the 1945 constitution and his adherence to formal procedures. A year after the Supersemar, Suharto was proclaimed acting president by the MPR, and in 1968, president. Sukarno was kept thereafter under virtual house arrest until his death in 1970.[32]

Despite the presence of supporters of the Old Order, Suharto's post-Sukarno plans for the "New Order" were generally accepted, in the absence of an alternative.[33] Many groups felt the new rules envisaged by Suharto could only be an improvement from the upheavals that followed the abortive 1965 coup. Also Indonesia's dreadful experiment with parliamentary democracy in the 1950s and Sukarno's Guided Democracy in the early 1960s had convinced many in the country of the need for a much stronger government.[34] Supporters for change included ABRI radicals who sought a rapid break with the aberrations of the Sukarno period, as well as military centrists who sought the same goals but at a more moderate pace. Other backers included student leaders who wanted early elections, an investigation into corruption during the Sukarno period, and a limitation of the military's political power; political party leaders who desired more competitive elections; and leading bureaucrats and technocrats who sought sustained economic growth and development for the country. Muslims leaders who hoped to return to the councils of power after Sukarno had banished them, likewise supported the change of regimes.[35]

Crucially for Suharto, ABRI's support helped him negotiate the need to constantly appeal to this broad swath of individuals and groups who sought change from the Sukarno era but via differing means. More important, the military's backing assisted Suharto in his consolidation of power in the early years.[36] Indeed, from 1965 to 1974, ABRI was the key factor in the power configuration of the nascent New Order regime. The armed forces were "the stabilizer and dynamist and custodian of the New Order's policies," participating actively "in every effort, endeavor and activity of the country and nation in the field of development." The military did so through the process of *penghijauan* ("making green") and the policy of *kekaryaan*, which redeployed senior military personnel into pivotal bureaucratic positions. Through the policy of kekaryaan, ABRI penetrated all levels and spheres of political life at the national, regional, and local levels. By 1968, seventeen of the twenty-five provinces had military

governors, and in all instances the ABRI maintained a firm grip over *Propinsi* (provincial) and *Kabupaten* (regency) levels of administration.[37]

At the national level, ministerial positions were assigned to serving ABRI commanders. Of the twenty-seven-member cabinet appointed in July 1966, twelve of the most important cabinet members came from the armed forces, including six from the army. In the twenty-three-member cabinet appointed in 1968 were six ministers from ABRI, including the heads of Defense and Security, Home Affairs, and Industry. Following the 1971 elections, five members of the twenty-four-member postelection cabinet were from the military.[38]

It would be incorrect, however, to suggest that Suharto was able to move smoothly into a position of undisputed authority within the army command structure. Instead, Suharto engaged in a prolonged and complicated series of negotiations, which gradually enhanced his standing in the armed forces. As mentioned previously, Suharto had to respect pro-Sukarno sentiments within the officer corps and also redress the strong regional-based loyalties. Suharto also had to address the fear that many officers felt that their own positions might be compromised by his enhanced standing.[39]

"The New Order regime had been established by the military as an institution in which Suharto was initially merely first among equals."[40] "Suharto was no more than a *primus inter pares*" and had to work hard to win the trust and support of his fellow officers. To do so, he established a consultative group within the army called Team Politik to provide a discussion forum for General Staff members, local commanders, and other senior officers. Team Politik provided a platform for officers to offer policy advice. Pursuing a parallel strategy, Suharto purged officers considered to be sympathetic to the PKI, using the Wanjakti Tinggi (Dewan Pertimbangan Jabatan dan Kepangkatan Tingkat, or Armed Forces Promotion Board) to remove or reassign senior officers, while also being careful not to alienate those who had strong local constituents.[41]

The key thrust of Suharto's strategy was to convince the armed forces that their interests were best served by throwing their support behind his regime. To this end, and to further secure the loyalty of the rank-and-file, Suharto raised their wages and made sure the regional affinities of the officer corps were accommodated within the army high command. In all of this, Suharto was assisted by the fact that the army high command came from a rather narrow sociological base, as most in the officer corps, like Suharto, were Javanese and not devoutly Muslim.[42]

The point to be emphasized here is that authoritarianism in this early period following Suharto's seizure of political power cannot be said to be one of an army general sitting in a sultan's palace surrounded by obsequious clients.[43] Power relations at the top were fairly plural, with several sources of influence in the regime. Key policy decisions in these early years were the product of a military-technocrat oligarchy rather than solely the discretion of Suharto. The military, while clearly the foremost institution, shared decision-making responsibilities with a group of technocrats, and these two groups in turn exercised their authority through the bureaucracy. Decision making in the early New Order period was certainly not made by fiat but was instead done through a process of consultation and discussion aimed at reaching some form of consensus.[44]

Within the armed forces, the locus of power was nested within a group of presidential assistants (*Aspri*, or *Asisten Pribadi*). This small coterie of senior army officers was formalized around August 1966, initially as *staf pribadi* (*Spri*) or personal assistants. Spri was composed of six army members at its formal establishment in August 1966 and twelve by 1968. The officers in this group enjoyed close personal relations with Suharto and became the president's confidential "privy council." Officers in Spri were charged with distinct decision-making domains such as finance, politics, foreign intelligence, domestic intelligence, social welfare, and "managing" national elections. These generals "exercised great influence over the patronage system" and "played a major role in determining appointments in both the military hierarchy and the government administration."[45] The authority these officers wielded was so substantial that Spri was considered a "Super-Cabinet."[46] There was truth to these accusations as individual Spri amassed substantial influence over ordinary cabinet ministers in their nominal departmental jurisdictions. Spri's influence was reputed to be especially pronounced in economic matters, where their penchant for "unconventional finance" expedited decision making. If civilian ministers had constitutional responsibility without much real power, the superconstitutional Spri enjoyed effective political authority without public accountability.[47]

The dominant members of this group were officers whom Suharto had known for a number of years. The leader of the Spri in the early years was Maj. Gen. Alamsjah Ratu Perwiranegara, who had been a close friend of Suharto ever since the two men served together at the headquarters of the army staff in 1960. Three others—Ali Murtopo, Sudjono Humardhani, and Yoga Sugama—served

under Suharto when he was commander of the Central Java Diponegoro military region in the late 1950s and again later in Kostrad. Ali Murtopo and Yoga Sugama were intelligence officers. Ali Murtopo previously headed an independent intelligence unit within Kostrad known as Opsus (Special Operations), which was set up in 1964 to end the military confrontation with Malaysia. Murtopo subsequently refined and expanded the Opsus apparatus to recruit a network of informal civilian intelligence gatherers to assist the New Order regime. Ali Murtopo was also deputy head of a new state intelligence body, Bakin (State Intelligence Coordinating Body). Alamsjah and Sudjono Humardhani had a background in army finance and were tasked with the regime's economic matters. Humardhani was Suharto's chief finance officer during the late 1950s when he commanded the Diponegoro Division. He has been described as the "epitome of the military entrepreneur" and was known as "trouble-shooter ekonomi RI."[48] Humardhani also played a key role as an important intermediary between the New Order government and Japan's Indonesia lobby, working to bring economic investments into the country.[49]

Although Spri was dissolved in June 1968 in response to public criticism of the business activities the officers were alleged to be engaged in, three members of the original grouping were reappointed immediately as Aspri to the president, and their job functions remained essentially unchanged. Alamsjah, who had been appointed state secretary in February 1968, was now given control over the president's official staff. Sugama, then Spri officer responsible for domestic intelligence, became deputy head and later head of Bakin in the same year. Sudjono Humardhani (economy) and Ali Murtopo (domestic and foreign intelligence) were also reappointed as personal assistants to Suharto.[50]

Suharto had deep trust that the Aspri officers would deliver, and he made sure the officers knew they held special personal responsibility for the tasks he allotted them. They repaid Suharto with unwavering loyalty and devotion. Aspri was a highly personalized mechanism of government in which interpersonal dynamics and sensitivities played a crucial role. Suharto expected his officers to understand and accommodate his modes of thinking. Sudjono, for example, later explained that he "could not wait for Suharto to come to him for advice, but that he had to anticipate the questions which he would be asked and prepare for them." Policymaking and personality were often fused and confused.[51] And although it may appear that Aspri was a fairly cohesive entity, its members were actually not in any sense a homogeneous body. While its members enjoyed close relations with Suharto, they did so more on an individual

basis rather than as a collective. Nevertheless, there was unanimity of views on key political and economic issues and an ability to work together in times of duress.[52]

Considerable autonomy and authority were likewise seen in state agencies of the early New Order regime. Pertamina (Perusahaan Pertambangan Minyak dan Gas Bumi Negara), Indonesia's national oil and gas company, and the independence of Lt. Gen. Ibnu Sutowo, its president-director, illustrate the leeway Suharto accorded to his senior officers in this early New Order period. Sutowo, previously an army doctor, was appointed by Suharto to head Pertamina in 1968. He was popularly known as the czar of a "state within a state."[53] Pertamina was a national company so independent that it defied all attempts by the state to control its policies and finances. A central role of Sutowo's position as president-director was to supply the military with extra funds, since the allocation for defense in the national budgets were insufficient to sustain the armed forces' existence. Sutowo's Pertamina single-handedly financed a large variety of undertakings, often for political and personal reasons of his own, like sponsoring a students' conference to ward off their criticism of him, or building a new hall in the Army Staff and Command School to forestall disaffection among his colleagues in the army.[54]

Another role of Pertamina was that of tax collector. All royalties and company taxes paid by foreign oil companies were channeled through Pertamina. In the early years of the New Order period, revenue inflows into Pertamina substantially exceeded payments to the Bank of Indonesia (the country's central bank). The Department of Finance struggled even to obtain information concerning the amounts paid by foreign oil companies to Pertamina. Sutowo used this independence to direct oil receipts directly into investments of Pertamina's own choosing. Sutowo also used Pertamina's high cash flows to move into international capital markets to augment the company's investment flows.[55]

With this leeway, Ibnu Sutowo turned Pertamina into a conglomerate, which by 1975 had become one of the top two hundred largest corporations in the world. Pertamina funds allowed the company to dominate capital assets in the oil sector—drilling equipment, a nationwide chain of twenty-six hundred filling stations, a fleet of tank wagons, several office buildings, a data processing center, and a supertanker fleet. The cash rich Pertamina also developed a petrochemical complex, port facilities, a steel mill, several hotels, a tourism complex in Batam Island (near Singapore), a fertilizer factory, an airline, highways, insurance, and even experimental farming. By 1974, oil export revenues had soared

to US$5.2 billion from US$232 million in 1966.[56] Ibnu Sutowo's Pertamina subsequently became the most important source of presidential patronage money, much of which was funneled through the State Secretariat.[57]

While there can be no doubt the senior officers in the military, in particular Aspri, had fairly autonomous roles in shaping policy in the early New Order period, especially in matters of security and foreign affairs, a group of economic technocrats also had profound influence. When Suharto came into office, economic underdevelopment was widespread in Indonesia, reaching a severity unknown since the war years. Writing at that time, Gunnar Myrdal had suggested that Indonesia and the other states of South and Southeast Asia were, "soft states" where hard economic decisions could not be taken, and if taken, could not be implemented.[58] The fundamental problem was the lack of effective governments. The early New Order government thus faced a substantial task in building a consensus behind any economic program that would be responsive to the circumstances. That onerous task of rehabilitating the Indonesian economy was eventually placed in the hands of a group of young economists from the University of Indonesia. Suharto's confidence in their abilities and deference to the policies they proposed eventually led to their rapid rise to power as key members of the "Berkeley Mafia."

The rise of these economic technocrats can be traced to the second Army Seminar held in Bandung in late August 1966. The seminar was meant to provide a forum for senior army leaders to discuss goals and strategies for the New Order. Suharto, in his opening speech, gave the seminar two tasks: to provide for political stability and create a program for economic development. Also present at this seminar were the Western-trained Berkeley mafia. The economists used the army seminar to refine their ideas on Indonesia's economic problems, develop possible pathways to economic stabilization, and present them to the group.

Although familiar to many of the senior military officers present, as several of these economists had been teaching at the Seskoad (Sekolah Staf dan Komando Angkatan Darat, or Army Command and Staff College), this was their first personal meeting with Suharto. Almost completely ignorant of economic policymaking, Suharto was deeply impressed with the clarity of their ideas, the unanimity with which these were presented, and their pragmatism. Suharto then set them to work to develop a program for economic rehabilitation. The outcome of the economists work was a raft of reform measures drafted in consultation with an IMF mission to Jakarta and proclaimed in October 1966.

These economists then formed a special expert advisory group to Suharto, which played a key role in the development of economic policy in the early years of the New Order. The group's collaborative genius, unity of purpose, international focus, and preference for free market practices provided a stark contrast to the state-centered and self-regarding economic practices during the late Sukarno years. Also their political naivety and lack of political ambition endeared the group to Suharto.[59]

The acknowledged leader of the technocrats was Widjojo Nitisastro, then dean of the Faculty of Economics at the University of Indonesia. Widjojo (Ph.D., University of California, Berkeley) joined Suharto's advisory team in 1966 as a member of the National Economic Stabilization Board. He was subsequently appointed chairman of the National Development Planning Board (Bappenas, or Badan Perencanaan dan Pembangunan Nasional) in 1967 and served in that position until 1983, while also serving as coordinating minister for Economic Affairs from 1973 to 1983. He was appointed as advisor to Bappenas (1983–98), finally serving as presidential economic advisor till the end of the New Order (1993–98), all this while working as a professor of economics at the University of Indonesia from 1964 to 1993. Emil Salim described Widjojo's critical role in economic policymaking:

> Looking back on my experience as a cabinet minister for over two decades. . . . it was Widjojo who was the real architect of the economic policies of the New Order. He was the dalang, or puppeteer, who directed the play, while we, the other economic technocrats, were the players, the wayang. We used to call him lurah (village head), and we still do. Widjojo was able to carry out his economic policies because Suharto trusted him; the president knew that he did not have a "hidden agenda." Widjojo was also able to rely on us, his fellow economists, because we all shared similar views on the need to pursue sound economic policies.[60]

Other key members of the "Berkeley Mafia" included Ali Wardhana (Ph.D., University of California, Berkeley), who from 1966 to 1968 was a member of the Economic Advisory Team of the president, served as minister of finance from 1973 to 1983, and replaced Widjojo as coordinating minister from 1983 to 1988; Emil Salim (Ph.D., University of California, Berkeley) who served as deputy chief of Bappenas (1967–71), state minister for state apparatus (1971–73), minister of transportation, communication and tourism (1973–78), state minister for development supervision and environment (1978–83), and minister of

state for Population and Environment (1983–93); Subroto (Ph.D., University of Indonesia), who served as director general of research and development at the Department of Trade, minister of manpower, resettlement and cooperatives, and finally minister of mining and energy (1983–1988) before becoming secretary general of the Organization of Petroleum-Exporting Countries (OPEC) in 1988. Finally, there was Mohammad Sadli (Ph.D., University of Indonesia), who studied at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and the University of California, Berkeley, and served as minister of manpower (1971–73) and minister of mining and energy (1973–78).[61]

The technocrats' ability to independently advise the president was key to Suharto's economic education and also the rehabilitation of the Indonesian economy. Suharto was a strong and consistent supporter of the technocrats' macroeconomic policy reform program, particularly during the early years of the New Order, so much so that he came to believe that their recommendations were always the "right economic policy," turning economic development into an "obsession" for his regime.[62] Because of this trust, Suharto tended to turn to the technocrats whenever economic crises threatened the country.

For example, in 1975–76, Suharto fired Ibnu Sutowo from Pertamina, hitherto the regime's "cash-cow," and sided with the economists when Pertamina's debts threatened to derail Indonesia's economic development. The crisis was precipitated by Pertamina's inability to make scheduled debt repayments in early 1975 on its loans from two North American banks. Subsequent investigations revealed that Pertamina had borrowed several billion dollars on its own, against government policy and without approval from the relevant ministries. Suharto had previously allowed Ibnu Sutowo and Pertamina to act independently of the economists, including the Ministry of Mines who were Sutowo's nominal superiors. When it became clear that Pertamina's activities threatened to bring down the raison d'être of the New Order government, and in turn risk the good faith of foreign investors, Suharto resolved the crisis by heeding the advice of the economists. Pertamina was subsequently prohibited from further independent borrowing and was brought more closely under the supervision of the minister of mines.[63]

Suharto sought the advice of the technocrats again in the 1980s to liberalize the economy following the failures of import substitution industrialization and the steep decline in oil prices,[64] and once more in 1996 and 1997 following the onset of the Asian financial crisis.[65]

Challenges from within the Regime: Pressures for Personalization

By the mid-1970s, disillusionment had begun to set in, even among some of Suharto's erstwhile supporters. Critics, both inside and outside the armed forces, resented the cozy relationship between the "financial generals" and a small group of ethnic Chinese businessmen. Ali Murtopo and Sudjono Humardhani were singled out and became prime targets of criticism. A group of so-called "professional soldiers" looked to General Sumitro, then deputy commander of the armed forces and head of the Kopkamtib,[66] and Maj. Gen. Sayidiman Suryohadiproyo, deputy chief of staff of the army, to advance their views.[67] Several within the armed forces were concerned that the activities of the "financial generals" were bringing the standing of the military into disrepute and detracting their efforts to modernize the organization.[68]

The new economic policies involving an open door to foreign investment also became a matter of contention as severe dislocations had emerged in the economy. Labor intensive factories run by indigenous Indonesian entrepreneurs suffered in competition with capital intensive plants set up by foreign investors, particularly the Japanese, who had responded to the generous inducements offered by the Indonesian government by setting up wide variety of manufacturing industries. Many of these investments came in as 100 percent foreign owned. If they did take on a local partner, the foreign investors tended to favor well-connected military officers or leading Indonesian-Chinese businessmen, most notably Suharto's old associate, Liem Sioe Liong, and senior military officers in Suharto's inner circle. The influx of foreign investment, combined with a surge in oil revenues, had given the "financial generals" plentiful funds for patronage. Humardhani was doubly targeted for his key role in attracting Japanese investment into Indonesia.[69]

This discontent came to a head when the Japanese prime minister, Kakuei Tanaka, visited Indonesia in January 1974. On his arrival, thousands of students demonstrated in the streets of Jakarta, calling for an end to corruption and the disbanding of Suharto's Aspri. It appeared that General Sumitro, as Kopkamtib commander, had consented to the student demonstrations as a way of putting pressure on Suharto to distance himself from his two most influential Aspri, Murtopo and Humardhani.[70] Sumitro's gamble at embarrassing Murtopo and Humardhani turned disastrously wrong when the demonstrations escalated into an out-of-control riot, hijacked by Jakarta's large class of

poor and underclass. The riots left eleven dead, almost two hundred seriously injured, more than eight hundred people arrested, and extensive vehicle and property damage. Most prominently, Astra, the local firm which imported Toyota automobiles, was burned to the ground. In view of the rioting, Suharto was forced to employ a helicopter to transfer Prime Minister Tanaka to the airport for his departure on January 17.[71]

The Malari incident, as these anti-Japanese riots came to be known, shocked the Suharto government "to its very roots by its inability to maintain law and order during the visit of an extremely important guest."[72] Following the riots, Sumitro was blamed for inciting the students and relieved of his post as Kopkamtib chief. Sayidiman was pushed out into a less powerful staff job, and other Sumitro supporters were made ambassadors or removed from direct troop command. Although the Malari incident eventually turned into a clear victory for Murtopo and Humardhani, it compromised the unity of Suharto's inner circle. The incident brought into the open the simmering power struggle among the president's principal lieutenants. But more important for Suharto, Malari served as lesson not to allow factional disputes within the military to spill over and exacerbate existing tensions in the country. "Intra-elite politics was henceforth to be quarantined from the masses."[73]

Suharto experienced more difficult moments in the late 1970s, this time from within the retired senior ranks of the armed forces. The first serious manifestation of veteran dissatisfaction appeared in 1977 when retired senior officers of the Diponegoro, Brawijaya, and Siliwangi divisions of the army sought to establish a study and discussion group to bring together those who shared dissonant views on the New Order. Surprisingly sanctioned by the army chief Widodo, these retired officers created Fosko (Army Study and Communication Group) in April 1978. Fosko subsequently began offering stridently critical ideas to the army headquarters about the need to reduce the military's dual function (*dwifungsi*) role and to enhance democratic procedures. A year later, General Nasution,[74] who also had been very critical of the regime, spoke of the crisis of leadership together with other senior retired military figures, including Ali Sadikin, and established the Institute for Constitutional Awareness Foundation (Lembaga Kesadaran Berkonstitusi, or LKB).[75]

The gist of these officers' dissatisfaction was that the armed forces had departed from their proper role as independent guarantors of the values of the Indonesian state and that certain senior military officers had aligned themselves too closely with Suharto's regime and policies. Also of concern was the

widespread posting of military officers into the bureaucracy. The numbers by the mid-1970s had become quite startling: more than twenty thousand members of the military served in nonmilitary roles, ranging from ambassadors to provincial governors and civil servants. The veterans group viewed the military's kekaryaan (bureaucratic) role as gnawing away the purity of purpose of the armed forces.[76]

This group of retired generals, which included Nasution, Mokaginta, Yasin, Hugeng, and Ali Sadikin, were popularly referred to as the *sakit hati* (sick-at-heart) generals. Together with some prominent disaffected civilians, such as former prime ministers Mohammed Natsir and Burhanuddin Harahap, and the leader of the emergency government in Sumatra during the latter stages of the revolution, Syafruddin Prawiranegara, they delivered a petition to the Indonesian parliament in May 1980. Known as Petisi 50 (Petition of 50), they protested ABRI's collaboration with the government's political party Golkar to secure national elections and demanded that the military stay above politics.[77]

Suharto responded to the petition's backers by burdening them with annoying and inconveniencing restrictions on their activities, including the closing off of their credit facilities, the denial of government contracts for their businesses, harassment, the loss of travel privileges, being struck from the list of invitees to the Independence Day celebrations at the palace—many of which reeked of spite rather than real fear of political danger.[78]

Authoritarian rule in the early New Order period had been characterized by offering leeway to regime stalwarts, and in some respects a tendency toward passivity and drift emerged as things proceeded normally. The Malari incident and the Petition of 50, though one more severe of a threat to the regime than the other, made Suharto recognize the acute dangers of allowing intra-elite dissatisfaction and rivalry, particularly within the armed forces, to simmer. More significantly, through these challenges, Suharto realized he could not allow elites to develop a base independent of his own favor and from which he might be challenged. Suharto understood he had to be politically and managerially vigilant at all times. The consequence of these intra-regime challenges of the 1970s was the creation of a much more tightly narrowed structure of power at the apex of the New Order regime, in which Suharto became the central manager over the next two decades. In the 1980s and 1990s, regime elites were made plainly aware that their position was wholly dependent on his goodwill and that they should not aspire to develop any independent base of political or military power other than those Suharto permitted. While they could

compete, like isolated atoms around a nucleus, for his attention and favor, Suharto left no illusions about the source of their status and influence in the regime. Suharto made it known once their usefulness as his agents evaporated or once his confidence in them had dissipated, they no longer had political future in his government.[79]

Personalizing the Military: The 1980s

The political infighting of the 1970s provided the background for an important attitudinal and strategic shift in Suharto's relations with the military into the 1980s. Within a decade and a half following the creation of the New Order regime, several of its stalwarts, Sumitro and Ibnu Sutowo for example, were forced from the political scene. And by the early 1980s, the influence of two of Suharto's most trusted advisors, Ali Murtopo and Sudjono Humardani, had waned. Ali Murtopo suffered a heart attack in 1978 and died in May 1984. Sudjono Humardani's authority over economic affairs receded in the early 1980s with the arrival of more professional and technically skilled bureaucrats. The political diminution of these officers and others whom Suharto had relied on in the early years of the New Order period set in motion a change in the kind of leadership the armed forces would have into the 1980s and 1990s. During this period Suharto no longer surrounded himself with the close and trusted associates who had emerged through the ranks with him (the so-called 1945 Generation).[80] Instead, Suharto turned to a new generation of officers, often called the Magelang Generation. Named after the town in Central Java where the armed forces academy is located, the Magelang Generation of military leaders differed from the previous one in that they did not participate in the Dutch revolution and underwent conventional training in a military academy. Members of the Magelang Generation took over regional commands in the early 1980s.[81] Suharto cultivated these officers who were well below the topmost ranks of seniority, promoted them rapidly, and then bound these upstart officers personally to him, eventually appointing them to major military positions.

A good illustration of Suharto's new approach in dealing with the military was the rapid rise of Leonardus Benyamin "Benny" Murdani, Ali Murtopo's intelligence protégé.[82] Benny Murdani was a rugged, combative, and bluntly spoken officer whom Suharto swiftly promoted from assistant for intelligence at army headquarters to the position of ABRI commander in March 1983. The swift ascent of Murdani, an intelligence specialist who had never commanded any military unit larger than a battalion to commander of the armed forces,

was described then as "extraordinary" and defying "all the norms of professional modern militaries."[83] But Suharto's choice of Murdani should not be surprising as it represented the tougher and significantly more subordinate relationship the military would now have with the president until his downfall in 1998.

Soon after his promotion, Murdani carried out a massive restructuring of the officers' corps, transferring key command posts from the 1945 Generation to the younger academy-trained officers. Murdani also reorganized the armed forces command structure with a view to further tighten the headquarters' control of the regional commands. The reforms tightened central control over provincial-level commanders (Kodam) by eliminating intermediate-level provincial-level regional military commands (Kowilhan), making Kodam commanders directly answerable to Jakarta. Murdani's restructuring led to the disbanding of the four Kowilhans (Regional Defense Commands) and the reorganizing of the sixteen Kodams (Military Area Command) into ten, all of which reported directly to Murdani's office.[84] Also included in the restructuring was the elimination of regional air and naval territorial commands, resulting in the strengthening of the army's authority in the armed forces. In totality, the more streamlined command structure was designed in part to facilitate the slew of graduates from the Magelang military academy but also to prevent potential fractiousness by limiting the number of powerful regional commands.[85]

Murdani's position in the armed forces was strengthened by the provisions of the 1982 law, Basic Provisions for the Defense and Security of the Republic of Indonesia, which provided him legal basis for the armed forces' dual function (*dwifungsi*) role. With this law, Murdani placed more *sospol* (sociopolitical) officers at the Kodam and Korem (subprovincial) levels. He also updated the military's intelligence capacity with the creation of Bais (Strategic Intelligence Body) in 1983. Bais was drawn from the smaller organization Pusimelstrar (Strategic Intelligence Centre), and it eventually connected the senior echelons of the army with the intelligence officers throughout the military's territorial command structure as well as the Kopkamtib capacities of local commanders, down to villages.[86] The restructuring of the armed forces in the 1980s became a useful platform for Murdani to place his cronies from intelligence and sospol backgrounds in the top echelon of the armed forces.[87] Murdani's restructuring of the armed forces thus underscored a "seismic generational shift within the military, and especially the Army hierarchy" allowing Suharto, through Murdani, the ability to "maximize his own power" over ABRI.[88]

Personalizing the State: The Rise of the First Family

In the mid-1980s, apart from the exercise of personal power in the armed forces through Murdani, Suharto's personal authority was manifest most evidently in the economy. Suharto's influence in economic affairs was visible through the growing scale of his children's business activities. Suharto actively encouraged state enterprises to assist his children and also nudged the private sector in the same direction. A political commentator noted in the early 1990s that the burgeoning business empires of Suharto's children seemed to have first option on all big government contracts and many small ones as well, many of which had begun to encroach into the military's own businesses.[89] It appears Suharto genuinely believed his children could serve as instruments of his development policy. Favoring his children in business was thus to him not corruption but rather part of the business of "development."[90] As Suharto remarked, "There is no problem . . . if the enterprises [of his children] are useful to the Indonesian people."[91]

Suharto's second son Bambang Trihatmodjo was the first of the president's six children to enter business. In 1982, Bambang started the Bimantara Group with several schoolmates and his older sister Tutut's husband Indra Rukmana. His earliest venture, a monopoly license to import and export goods by air, was followed in 1984 by a successful tender by the company to buy, renovate, and then resell the Palapa B-2R satellite, an integral part of Indonesia's telecommunications network. Other ventures Bimantara Group landed included the construction of the luxury Grand Hyatt hotel on cheaply acquired state land in central Jakarta, a money-spinning monopoly on the import of plastics electronics, shipping, milk-processing, plywood manufacturing, television broadcasting, aircraft leasing, construction, real estate, sugar and palm oil plantations, and food retailing. By the 1990s, Bimantara was Indonesia's largest *pribumi*-owned (indigenously owned) business group. The group had grown to include about a hundred subsidiaries with total assets of around US$1.4 billion.[92]

Tommy, Suharto's youngest son, established the Humpuss group with his older brother, Sigit Haryoyudanto, in 1984. While Sigit took the low-profile role of investor rather than active manager, Tommy relentlessly parlayed his familial connections into new private business activities. An example was Tommy's acquisition of some of Pertamina's distribution contracts for petrochemicals and crude products in the 1980s. Humpuss also became the sole distributor for the export of liquefied natural gas to Taiwan. In 1989, Tommy

and Bob Hasan (Suharto's golfing partner) purchased a majority stake in a charter airline from a holding company controlled by the military and turned it into Sempati Air, the first privately owned Indonesian airline to break the monopoly of the national carrier Garuda Indonesia on international routes. Humpuss also diversified into wood manufacturing, fertilizer production, toll roads, sugar and palm oil plantations, and advertising. Annual revenues for companies owned personally by Tommy Suharto were estimated to be around US$500 million in the early 1990s.[93]

Tutut, Suharto's oldest daughter proved as resourceful in business as her brothers with her business group, Citra Lamtoro Gung, which she founded with her husband and her two younger sisters in 1983. The group made headlines in 1989 when it won the rights to run the toll road running through the middle of Jakarta. Tutut's company also acquired an educational television channel, which employed the national broadcaster's (TVRI) facilities without cost. In the early 1990s, benefiting from her family's close ties with then minister for research and technology B. J. Habibie, Tutut secured a license to import Malaysia's Proton cars into Indonesia. The deal was reported to be part of a countertrade arrangement under which Malaysia bought airplanes manufactured by Indonesia's state-owned aircraft company headed by Habibie in exchange for the Protons.[94]

Personalizing the State: Declining Role of Technocrats

The rise of the First Family's business activities coincided with the diminution of the economic technocrats' policy influence in Indonesia. Although Suharto had turned to this economic team whenever the country faced economic problems during the New Order period, by the mid-1990s it was obvious Suharto was cherry-picking their suggestions. Their success in restoring economic growth to the country proved to be their undoing as Suharto now felt increasingly confident to ignore their policy prescriptions whenever it suited him. In the words of former cabinet minister Sarwono Kusumaatmadja, Suharto instead turned to advice from "tinkerers, technicians, and other crazy characters."[95]

The declining clout of the economic technocrats occurred concomitantly with the rising political influence of Research and Technology Minister B. J. Habibie. Among Habibie's economic ventures that contradicted the prudent free-market principles of the earlier years was the controversial purchase of thirty-nine ships from the former East German Navy in 1993. What began as a

US$13 million deal to buy the ageing ships became an exorbitant US$1.1 billion public works package to acquire a pair of oil tankers, upgrade fifteen shipyards, and construct a new deepwater port in Sumatra. The purpose of the naval deal was to attract much-needed business contracts for PT PAL, the state-owned shipbuilding facility in Surabaya under Habibie's ministry.[96] Habibie brought the plan directly to Suharto for his approval, bypassing the technocrats and, more important, the armed forces, both of whom adamantly opposed the purchase. The national aircraft manufacturing firm, IPTN, also under Habibie's watch also benefited from Habibie's close ties with the president. In 1994, Suharto authorized a US$190 million "loan" to IPTN from a fund initially set up to finance reforestation efforts.[97]

Habibie was not the only challenge the technocrats faced in developing economic policy in the 1990s. The biggest challenge to economic policy coherence in Indonesia came from the First Family and cronies of Suharto. In the 1990s, all six of Suharto's children were involved in a rapacious assets grab led by Suharto's oldest Tutut, middle son Bambang Trihatmodjo, and youngest son Tommy. Huge infrastructure projects in the country almost always involved a Suharto family member. Typically, one of Suharto's children would act as a local agent and would receive a 10–15 percent equity stake in the project to develop large projects such as water-treatment facilities, toll roads, power stations, petrochemical plants, to name but a few. By the time Suharto fell from power in May 1998 it was estimated that there were at least 1,251 separate, active companies in Indonesia alone in which Suharto family members had significant stakes in.[98] Suharto's children's business activities greatly undermined bureaucratic discipline, as ministers, governors, and other civil servants replicated on a smaller scale what Suharto had permitted his children to do on a national scale.[99]

Ministers and government officials who rebuffed the advances of the First Family found themselves seeking employment elsewhere. For example, in 1995, following the partial privatization of the telecommunications industry, several finance ministry officials were shunted to lesser jobs after they failed to allocate sufficient attractively priced shares to a First Family member.[100] Yet another example in 1995 that also illustrates the policymakers' loss of authority occurred when the president of the state-owned Merpati Airlines, Riduwan Fatarudin was sacked. His "crime" was his refusal to lease aircraft at well above market rates from an aircraft-leasing firm owned by Tommy Suharto.[101]

Personalizing Golkar

Suharto's creeping personalization was evident likewise in his regime's main political vehicle, Golkar (*golongan karya*, or functional groups). Golkar was introduced into the New Order in 1967. Building on the military's association of anticommunist groups, Suharto and his Aspri envisaged Golkar as the regime's parliamentary vehicle. Golkar was to be referred to not as a party but as a "functional group" to house the several hundred smaller functional groups, including peasant associations, labor unions, and business groups. It would become clear later that, instead being constituted from the ground up, Golkar was to be dominated by the military, the bureaucracy, and its own civilian wing, with the armed forces being very much the senior partner.

In the first two decades of the New Order, Golkar served as an important mechanism for the devolvement of power and the sharing of spoils among the key components of the "Golkar family." Members of the armed forces, the bureaucracy, and civilian elite held key positions in Golkar. Lower-ranking members also got some part of the largesse. The running joke among Golkar parliamentarians about their activities was aptly summarized by the five *d*'s: *datang*, *duduk*, *dengar*, *diam*, *duit*, which, roughly translated, mean "show up, sit down, listen, shut up, and collect your paycheck."[102]

In the mid-1980s, Golkar under the leadership of its chairman Sudharmono and leaders such as Sarwono Kusumaatmadja, Rachmat Witoelar, and Akbar Tandjung, tried to reshape the organization's image, believing it could evolve into a regular political party, producing the next generation of Indonesian leaders. At this time, Golkar cultivated indigenous businessmen by widening their access to government projects and state bank funding. And on a series of issues between 1989 and 1991, Golkar parted company with the executive branch and adopted an increasingly critical stance. During parliamentary sessions of this period, members of Golkar surprisingly raised objections to an increase in utility prices and also supported criticisms of press censorship laws. Parliamentarians also championed striking laborers, offered encouragement to new labor unions, and even sided with farmers in land compensation cases. Some even dared to make the occasional disparaging remark about the business activities of Suharto's children.[103]

By the middle of 1991, however, Suharto lost patience with the New-Look Golkar. In August 1991, when Golkar's leaders assembled their tentative list of party candidates for the general elections and sought Suharto's approval, the

president scratched several of the most outspoken members of the existing parliament off the list.[104] In October 1993 when Golkar met to choose a new chairman, Suharto's daughter Siti Hardijanti Rukmana was named one of Golkar's vice chairmen and his son Bambang Trihatmodjo became its treasurer. In addition, the sons and daughters of some of Suharto's trusted allies were elected to the board. Many of these new faces were scions of one-time luminaries, including the son of former Pertamina oil company boss Ibnu Sutowo, the son of ex-army intelligence chief Yoga Sugama, and a son of former chief justice Ali Said. In stacking the leadership of Golkar with family members and loyalists, Suharto made sure there would be no further contrary moves against his own children.[105] In the words of Marzuki Darusman, a former Golkar parliamentarian and chair of national Human Rights Commission: "It's nepotism on a grand scale . . . the executive board [Golkar] was chosen for the sole purpose of re-electing Suharto again in 1998."[106]

Personalizing the Military: 1990s

Personalistic authoritarian regimes are characterized by the frequent turnover of the ruling elite, and one of the reasons why this occurs often is because executive power is applied in a highly discretionary manner, dependent on the whims and fancies of the dictator. The fall of Benny Murdani from the apex of power in the New Order regime illustrates clearly the personalistic authority Suharto wielded from the 1980 to the 1990s.

In February 1988, a month before the People's Consultative Assembly session (convened every five years to elect the president and vice president) and just two months after Suharto had granted Murdani a twelve-month extension of active military service, the president relieved Murdani of his position as ABRI commander and replaced him with army chief of staff, Try Sutrisno. Try served for several years as President Suharto's adjutant in the early 1970s and rose rapidly through the ranks, becoming Jakarta regional commander at the end of 1982, deputy chief of staff of the army in 1985, and chief of staff in 1986. With his appointment as ABRI commander, Try Sutrisno became the first officer from the Magelang Generation to hold that position.[107]

The break between Suharto and his hitherto most steadfast lieutenants was blamed on Murdani's temerity to question the army's proper role in a country that faced no apparent external or internal military threats. Murdani disapproved of the military's heavy involvement in politics, local administration, and business activities. But the straw that broke the camel's back was Murdani's

criticism of Suharto's favoritism toward his children's business interests. Suharto resented Murdani's advice. Murdani most likely did think because he had been close to and trusted by Suharto for many years, he could offer counsel. Suharto appeared to have interpreted the advice instead as an indication of Murdani's growing confidence in his own political position, based on his growing stature within the armed forces.[108]

Another reason for Murdani's replacement was Suharto's concern that Murdani could sabotage his plan to have Lieutenant General Sudharmono, then the Golkar chairman, elected as vice president in March 1988. Sudharmono was not a popular choice as vice president in the eyes of the army. Because Sudharmono had spent most of his career as an army lawyer, the military accorded him scant respect for his essentially "civilian" military background. Senior officers were also unhappy when as state secretary, he distanced the military from lucrative contracts that eventually landed in the hands of Suharto's children and business friends.[109]

Suharto's concern played out in an unprecedented display of public animus during the People's Consultative Assembly deliberations. During the assembly debates, Brig. Gen. Ibrahim Saleh from the military delegation staged a protest, briefly mounting the platform and starting a verbal attack on Sudharmono before being cut short by a group including Murdani and Try Sutrisno. Furthermore, before the Ibrahim Saleh incident another group of military officers in the assembly tried to push John Naro, the chairman of the Islamist-based United Development Party, as a candidate for vice president in an attempt to block Sudharmono's candidacy. Ibrahim Saleh himself actively encouraged Naro to stay on as a candidate even though his chances were slim.[110]

Although Sudharmono was eventually "unanimously" elected vice president, ABRI made its point that Sudharmono was not acceptable to the military as a future president. To underscore the military's opposition, Sarwo Edhie, a longtime supporter of Suharto, resigned from parliament in protest. Suharto's refusal to reconsider his decision despite the vocal opposition brought home a realization to the army leadership that their capacity to influence the course of events was seriously eroded.[111]

Suharto did not take kindly to Murdani and the military's demonstration of defiance. In his new cabinet following his reelection, Suharto curtailed the military's influence to only just ten members in the forty-person cabinet. In a move to further sanction Murdani for instigating the assembly revolt, Murdani, now holding appointment as defense minister in the new cabinet, was

stripped of a key intelligence portfolio when Suharto dismantled Kopkamtib in September 1988 and replaced Kopkamtib was a new body, Bakorstanas (National Stability Coordinating Body). Bakorstanas would now be headed by ABRI commander Try Sutrisno and would also be staffed by military and civilian personnel. Bakorstanas reported directly to the president and institutionally, unlike Murdani's Kopkamtib or Bais, had no power to take action on its own.[112] Suharto's state secretary Murdiono announced in September 1988, "With this Bakorstanas, the tasks that had been carried out by Kopkamtib are considered to be finished, and maintaining national stability will be carried out by [government] ministries and departments concerned."[113]

In the end, Murdani served only one term as defense minister following his ouster from the military. Suharto subsequently offered Murdani the ambassadorship to the United States, but he turned it down.[114] Thereafter, officers associated with Benny Murdani were either reassigned or retired early from the military. This "rectification campaign" was dubbed "de-Bennyization."[115] Bais, the focal point of Murdani's political power for about a decade and his last institutional stronghold, was eventually restructured, downsized, and renamed Bakin (State Intelligence Agency) in 1994.[116]

Lieutenant General Wismoyo Arismunandar, President Suharto's brother-in-law, suffered a similar fate as Murdani when he began putting the army's institutional interests ahead of Suharto's family's interests.[117] Wismoyo married Datiet Siti Hardjanti, the younger sister of President Suharto's wife, in 1968 after he completed a three-year stint as commander of the Presidential Guard, which handled security arrangements for Suharto. Wismoyo had been on the promotion fast track and had many Jakarta-based observers believing he would be the commander in chief of the armed forces by the mid-1990s.[118] In August 1990, he was promoted to head Kostrad. Within two years, he was made lieutenant general and appointed deputy army commander in chief. This made him the number-three man in the military hierarchy behind the commander of the armed forces and army. In April 1993, Wismoyo was appointed army chief, just seven months after he was promoted to the rank of three-star general and appointed the army's deputy commander. Military observers at that time suggested that Wismoyo had "the right credentials to become a presidential contender when Suharto eventually leaves office."[119]

Wismoyo's rapid rise was interpreted as Suharto's attempt to regain control of ABRI after the tumultuous end to Murdani's tenure as commander. It was suggested that Suharto's long-term plan involved the eventual promotion of

Wismoyo to command ABRI sometime in the middle of his 1993–98 presidential term so that he would then be in a position to succeed Suharto in 1998. One of Suharto's motives was to place a close relative in the presidential palace to protect the wealth of the First Family, something Murdani failed to do.[120] Wismoyo lost Suharto's patronage when he protected Murdani's men in the army headquarters after they were removed from the armed forces headquarters. Wismoyo also tried to protect the army's business interests against encroachment from some of Suharto's cronies, including Suharto golfing partner Bob Hasan, intending to show that he was not a puppet of Suharto.[121] Instead, Wismoyo's actions lessened the president's ability to exert his personal influence over the armed forces. Suharto subsequently retired Wismoyo from active military service in February 1995.[122] Wismoyo's classmates also suffered when he fell out of favor with Suharto. Major General Arie Sudewo and Maj. Gen. Kuntara were relieved of their posts as assistant for intelligence to the armed forces' chief of the general staff and Kostrad commander respectively.[123]

Spooked by the Murdani and Wismoyo episodes, and the intransigence of the military, Suharto began taking a "scrupulous personal interest in the minutiae of promotions and placements" within the military in the 1990s. Suharto signed off on almost all appointments in the armed forces. Even officers who were awarded foreign-service decorations had to get his personal approval. Apart from handpicking the heads of the army, navy, air force, and police, Suharto also had an important say in the choice of candidates to command three key military commands. These were Kostrad, the two-division force that forms Indonesia's main combat arm, the Jakarta regional command, and the Kopassus (Special Forces) Regiment. Suharto became familiar with officers down to the battalion level in the Jakarta command, and down to Kodam, or the regional level, across the rest of the country. While military officers may not have personally encountered Suharto, "he knows them . . . that's why when new officers are appointed, he's very much involved in who goes where."[124]

The 1990s were replete with examples of Suharto employing military rotations in order to ensure his personal authority over the armed forces. Particularly noticeable was the president's reliance on ex-presidential adjutants, relatives, and ethnic minorities.[125] A case in point would be Suharto's appointment of Lt. Gen Feisal Tanjung as commander of ABRI in May 1993 to replace Gen. Edi Sudradjat, who served as commander for only three months. Tanjung, a Sumatran, had never held a major regional command on Java and was regarded more as an efficient staff officer than a military leader. In 1992 he had achieved

national prominence as head of the military's Honor Council, which investigated the army's role in the Dili, East Timor, massacre and recommended the discharge of several senior officers, a measure that was not universally applauded within ABRI. Before replacing Sudrajat, Tanjung was recalled into the military high command as ABRI chief of the general staff, after being "exiled" to the army staff and command school in Bandung for four-and-a-half years.[126] Similarly, Gen. R. Hartono got his job as army chief because of his close ties with Suharto's eldest daughter, Siti Hardyanti Rukmana. Prior to his ascent, he held an insignificant post at the armed forces staff and command school, also in Bandung, and was initially thought to be a front-runner for the provincial governorship in East Java. Hartono was later fast-tracked to head the National Defense Institute and then rose up the army hierarchy, becoming the chief of the social and political staff at the armed forces headquarters before finally replacing Gen. Wismoyo Arismunandar as army chief of staff in February 1995.[127]

Suharto's active manipulation of military appointments reflected his more hands-on approach in managing the armed forces following Murdani's exit. He did so because of the lack of a suitable conduit—Suharto had little in common with the Magelang Generation of officers by way of similar experience. He was a full generation older than the military leadership of the 1990s, almost none of whom served under him in a direct capacity.[128] The younger officers treated him with awe and reverence, keeping their emotional distance. Suharto's supremacy over this new generation of officers was reflected in the words of R. E. Elson: "He gave the impression that they came to him to seek wisdom and advice, not to proffer it; those who did best were sufficiently experienced and cagey to know how to present their ideas in non-proprietorial ways and without a hint of hectoring."[129] And in Suharto's own words: "When [subordinates] come to me . . . they need my instructions [*petunjuk*], what my thoughts are on this or that. They certainly have their own thoughts and ideas. But they need to check so that there is no error or lack of coordination. To ensure they are not acting on their own, I give them my instructions. That's how things work."[130]

In the 1990s Suharto stood at the height of his powers. His dominance in the New Order regime was colossal. The regime was a "steeply-ascending pyramid in which the heights are thoroughly dominated by a single office, the presidency."[131] No decision of any consequence in the New Order was taken without his knowledge or consent. Suharto was unchallengeable in his position as the paramount leader in Indonesia, and he now enjoyed this status independent of the power of the armed forces, the institution which had brought

him into power in the 1960s. Suharto had "imposed the stamp of his personality and political style upon the New Order so strongly . . . that we simply cannot disregard the personal factor in any analysis of the political, social and structural dynamics of the regime."[132] Suharto was the lynchpin of "a powerful and self-confident political center."[133] The few who dared to oppose the president were utterly excluded from the gravy train.[134]

Suharto's hands-on approach in dealing with ABRI personnel matters persisted through his last few years in office. Military rotations were taking place at such a rapid rate in the last few years of Suharto's rule that a former defense minister noted in exasperation that personnel changes were "taking place too quickly."[135] As an illustration, during the period of January to May 1998, just four months before Suharto's resignation, elite military command positions changed hands thirty-one times (table 4.2).[136]

The extent of turnover in the senior officer corps in this six-month period leading up to the end of the Suharto regime demonstrates the extent of personalism in the armed forces. As the student protests grew louder and the financial crisis worsened, the key commanders of the armed forces around Suharto were rotated to form "a core group of officers . . . who not only shared similar interests, but whose interests largely coincided with the President."[137] The military's leadership was dominated by former presidential adjutants, bodyguards, and a son-in-law.[138] At the apex of ABRI was General Wiranto, a former presidential adjutant, commanding the army was Lt. Gen. Subagyo Hadisiswoyo, Suharto's former bodyguard. Also in the leadership echelon, the deputy army commander, Lieutenant General Sugiono, was the former commander of Presidential Security Guards, and the Kostrad commander, Lt. Gen.

Table 4.2. Changes in key military commands (January–May 1998)

Month	Armed forces headquarters	Army	Total
January 1998	3	–	3
February 1998	1	1	2
March 1998	4	5	9
April 1998	1	6	7
May 1998	3	7	10
Total	12	19	31

Prabowo Subianto, was Suharto's son-in-law. Commanding the Kopassus was Prabowo's academy classmate Maj. Gen. Muchdi Purwo Pranyoto (Mochamad Idris Gasing, became his deputy).[139] The job of protecting the capital city Jakarta [commander Kodam Jaya] was tasked to Lt. Gen. Syafrie Syamsuddin, a former presidential bodyguard and another of Prabowo's academy classmates. The chief of the Police, Gen. Dibyo Widodo, was also a former presidential adjutant.

President Suharto thus entered the last few months of his presidency surrounded by staunch loyalists within the armed forces. Prior to the tumultuous events of May 1998, Suharto was ostensibly "very much in control" and "on top of his political form" with little likelihood of witnessing "the kind of widespread 'People's Power' movement that toppled other authoritarian regimes in the Philippines or South Korea."[140]

Personalization in the Late New Order: The Fracturing of ABRI and the Fall of Suharto

Earlier in this chapter I detailed how Suharto, following the failed attempt at collegial-oligarchic rule in the early New Order period, consolidated his grip on over the military by centralizing the command structure and increasing the frequency of reshuffles within the officer corps.[141] Another instrument he used to ensure his control over the military was the creation and cultivation of competition within the armed forces—the age old tactic of divide and rule—so that no camp grew strong enough to challenge his authority.

Prabowo versus Wiranto

The most competitive and intense of this intramilitary contestation emerged during the last twelve months of Suharto's rule. This intra-ABRI conflict centered on General Wiranto (commander of the armed forces) and Lt. Gen. Prabowo Subianto's (commander of Kostrad) tussle for control over the armed forces. Prabowo and Wiranto were the only two prospective candidates to replace armed forces commander Feisal Tanjung, who was expected to retire in 1997. This race to be the next armed forces commander had high stakes as only one of them could make it to the top, with the loser likely to be sidelined under the leadership of the winner.[142]

The rapid rise of Prabowo Subianto up the military hierarchy played a large role in his clash with Wiranto. Although Prabowo spent almost his entire military career in field operations in the Kopassus and had never led a territorial

command—a conventional prerequisite for higher promotion—he quickly rose through the ranks and challenged Wiranto's political position within the armed forces. Prabowo assumed command of Kopassus in 1995, and in doing so, became the first member of his graduating class to reach the rank of brigadier general, at only forty-four years of age. According to the military's rules for promotion (*Buku Petunjuk Dasar Tentang Pembinnan Prajurit ABRI*), it typically takes twenty to twenty-five years after graduation from the military academy to reach the rank of colonel and a minimum of twenty-three years to become a one-star general. Prabowo, who was a graduate of the military academy in 1974, was clearly on the promotions fast track. One retired officer suggested: "Prabowo has a toll-road ticket—meaning he can bypass the jam of waiting officers."[143]

Within a year of taking command, Prabowo doubled the size of the Special Forces to nearly seven thousand, prompting Benny Murdani to remark that he was "trying to make the Special Forces into the Iraqi secret service."[144] Indeed, Kopassus under Prabowo had become so exclusive that ABRI commander Feisal Tanjung, a four-star general, could not freely visit the Kopassus sites controlled by Prabowo, a major general.[145] In August 1996, Prabowo earned his second star, again the first to do so among his academy classmates.

Although Prabowo commanded a key military unit, he was still considered a junior figure in the military leadership. But it was his pedigree that attracted more attention than his rank. Prabowo was scion to one of Java's most aristocratic families. One of his uncles died fighting the Dutch in 1946 and his father, Sumitro Djojohadikusumo, a renowned economist, was among the drafters of the Indonesian Constitution. In 1958, Djojohadikusumo opposed Sukarno's leftist political turn and joined a rebel government in Sumatra. When the rebellion was crushed, Djojohadikusumo went into exile and returned to Indonesia when Suharto came to power. Prabowo spent much of his childhood overseas in boarding schools but returned to join the armed forces. After graduating from the military academy, he was one of the several hundred Indonesian officers who received Pentagon assistance to study at US military schools. He completed the advanced course for infantry officers at Fort Benning and a course for Special Forces at Fort Bragg.

In 1983, Prabowo married Siti Hediyati, Suharto's second daughter. Jakarta's gossip circles viewed the marriage as having been arranged. This chatter did not fade away as Prabowo continued his rapid ascent up the military chain of command. In a 1999 interview, Gen. Theo Sjafei, Prabowo's former commander, spoke of these familial connections:

> Yes, I saw Prabowo getting special treatment. Particularly and excessively at the hands of ABRI Commander Feisal Tanjung and Army Chief of Staff Hartono. . . . But even before that he got special treatment. Normally, after serving as battalion commander, he should have become a Kodim [Military District] commander. . . . But the fact is he never became a Kodim commander, never became a Korem [Military Sub-region] commander, Kodam [Regional Command] chief of staff, or Regional Commander. He never moved up the military ladder step by step like ordinary officers.
>
> He was given an easier ride, in that he didn't have to go up rung by rung as is normal in ABRI. And he also never entered what you could call the "staff world," where his ideas would have had to be formed into clear concepts for presentation to his commander, and which could be rejected by his commander.[146]

Prabowo's rise should also be seen within the context of Suharto's personalization of the armed forces, which was already evident since the late 1980s. From Suharto's perspective, there was an urgent need to reconstruct the military so that it would be amenable to him following the Benny Murdani debacle. Dismantling Murdani's legacy in ABRI and recruiting loyalist officers were the two major goals. The president's political survival depended on how he could transform the military before the 1998 presidential election. Regardless of whether or not he himself would choose to stay in office, establishing an amenable ABRI was necessary for his management of this process.[147]

Although Wiranto outranked Prabowo, Prabowo made up ground quickly with each promotion. By the end of 1997, there was a balance-of-power between the Prabowo and Wiranto camps. Wiranto and his allies dominated the Armed Forces Headquarters, while Prabowo and his associates, most of whom had Kopassus backgrounds and were from his academy class of 1974, controlled Army Headquarters and strategic positions in and around the capital city Jakarta.[148]

Another feature of the late New Order period intramilitary contestation was the formation of strategic alliances between competing officers and sociopolitical forces in Indonesian civil society. Senior officers sought to advance their political interests by cultivating support from various civil groups, hoping that their backing and influence in the various political constituencies would convince Suharto of their indispensability in propping up his regime. It should be noted these alliances were not ideologically based but instead reflected perceptions within the competing military groups of Suharto's changing political priorities.[149]

This intramilitary competition can be traced to the seismic shift in the landscape of Indonesian politics in the early 1990s when Suharto started courting members of the modernist Islamist political community. Previously, Suharto had displayed antipathy towards Islamist movements. The New Order regime's opposition grew mainly from the belief that Islamist parties were behind the Permerintah Revolusioner Republik Indonesia (PRRI), Pembangunan Rakyat Semesta Revolt (Permesta), and the other rebellions of the 1950s and 1960s.[150] In a startling turnaround after several decades of hostility, Suharto supported Research and Technology Minister B. J. Habibie's founding of the Association of Indonesian Muslim Intellectuals (ICMI, or Ikatan Cendekiawan Muslim Indonesia) in December 1990. By agreeing to become the association's first patron, Suharto demonstrated that ICMI was much more than a grouping of Islamic intellectuals. Indeed, Suharto's support for the organization represented a significant shift in the landscape of Indonesian politics in favor of Islam. Within a few years of its founding, the profile of ICMI grew significantly—the organization had its own newspaper and think tank. It was also involved in a wide range of commercial activities. The formation of ICMI was Suharto's attempt to stake out new and broader ground of political support by co-opting the support of Muslim intellectuals as well as the broader Islamic community. As Bill Liddle argues, ICMI should not be regarded as a mass political movement but rather as "a state corporatist organization" to assert political control.[151]

Suharto's turn to political Islam and his increased reliance on ICMI as a vehicle to promote his political interests also had far-reaching ramifications for ABRI. In an attempt to reflect the interests of his newly assembled political base, Suharto reshuffled key commands in the armed forces and brought in officers with strong Islamic credentials. For example, Feisal Tanjung and Raden Hartono, who were appointed commander of ABRI and army chief respectively in 1995, came from devout Muslim families and had strong ICMI connections.[152] The reorganization that occurred at the middle-level command appointments and regional commands also reflected a strong tilt toward the Islamic-oriented officers.[153] Overnight, it had become fashionable within the armed forces to be labeled a "santri general."[154]

Prabowo Subianto played a key role in this growing display of Muslim religiosity and the visible rapprochement with Muslim groups that were marginalized during the earlier years of the New Order period. For instance, Prabowo, together with generals Tanjung and Hartono, joined with several of Suharto's children to create the Center for Policy and Development Studies, an Islamic

think tank. The center aimed to serve as a bridge between ICMI and the pro-Islamic officers in the armed forces.[155]

Islamic prayer and mosque activities also became central daily features within the armed forces.[156] For example in Kopassus, the unit where Prabowo served for more than two decades and commanded from December 1995 to March 1998, an Australian journalist described how the deputy commander of a Kopassus group, which consisted of two battalions, or about fifteen hundred men, routinely changed out of his camouflage-pattern uniform and set off for the mosque daily at 11:00 am, even on a duty day. A foreign military attaché who had spent twelve months at the Army Staff and Command School (Seskoad) in the early 1980s recounted: "You would never have seen that 10 to 15 years ago . . . in my class at Seskoad, 20 or 30 of the 150 Indonesians would pray devoutly on Fridays. Now, they march them down to prayers. If you're a Muslim, you go."[157]

Prabowo likewise built bridges with the Indonesia Committee for World Muslim Solidarity (which is known more popularly by its acronym KISDI) and other Muslim groups, especially those who were marginalized in the early days of the New Order period. In a high-profile ceremony that was splashed across the pages of local newspapers, he broke the Muslim Ramadan fast along with about five thousand of the faithful, including some well-known clerics and activists, at a January 1998 ceremony held at Kopassus's Cijantung headquarters. "It has never happened before," said Hussein Umar, secretary-general of Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah Indonesia (DDII), a group that the military once suspected of extremist tendencies.[158] At this ceremony, Prabowo urged his fellow officers and Muslim leaders to "close ranks" in facing the challenges ahead.[159] With these moves, among many others, a commentary by the Indonesian Academy of Sciences (LIPI, or Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia) remarked that "the improvement of relations between the government and Islam has been marked, among other things, by elements within ABRI approaching the *pesantren*. . . . This demonstrates clearly that there has been an important change in ABRI-Islamic relations."[160]

General Wiranto, on the other hand, was frequently associated with the "red-white" faction (*golongan merah putih*), red-white being the colors of the Indonesian flag. The "red-white" faction represented the secular-nationalist group of officers. The "red-white" faction went head to head with Prabowo's pro-Islamist "green" faction (*golongan hijau*) by countering Prabowo's moves to Islamicize the officer corps.[161] Shortly after Wiranto's inauguration as army chief in June 1997, he was markedly conciliatory to senior retired officers who

were linked to the Foundation of National Brotherhood Harmony (YKPK, or Yayasan Kerukunaan dan Persaudaraan Kebangsaan). The YKPK was a political association founded by the secularist, or "red-white" segment of the armed forces to curb the "sectarian tendencies" and the increasing "ICMI-zation" of national politics in October 1995. YKPK drew support from secularist-minded officers, both retired and in active service.[162] During his July 1997 army chief of staff handover ceremony, Wiranto invited several retired officers who were critical of the increasing Islamization of the officer corps, including M. Panggabean, Poniman, Makmun Murod, Edi Sudradjat, Wismoyo Arismunandar, and Bambang Triantoro. In the past, military officials who were critical of the government were not on the guest lists for official functions. In addition, later that June, following the handover ceremony, Wiranto invited many retired servicemen, including many retired officers linked to the YKPK, to the Armed Forces headquarters in Cilangkap, East Jakarta, to receive awards for helping establish the People's Security Forces in the late 1940s, the precursor to the current Indonesian armed forces.[163]

Wiranto also began developing ties with the group of so-called military "intellectuals." These officers were not by any means part of the armed forces mainstream, but they were clearly anti-Prabowo with their ideas of reform and eventual regime change in Indonesia. Arguing that the armed forces needed to return to their professional roots, these officers wanted to shield the military from the growing discontent with the Suharto regime, apparent since the onset of the 1997–98 financial crisis. Stopping short of an unrestricted liberal democratic system, these officers were prepared to introduce more political rights and greater transparency in Indonesia. Many of these officers had served for long periods at the military's staff and command schools in Bandung, providing them with the time, resources, and distance to reflect on the future of the armed forces and the county.[164] Several of them also had extensive foreign experience, including study in the United States. The "reformers" included Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, the regional commander in South Sumatra; Agus Widjojo, the assistant to the ABRI commander; and Agus Wirahadikusumah, another staff officer. These officers occupied junior staff positions and had little influence on the policies of the military elite. They expressed their thoughts at military seminars, discussion circles, and private conversations rather than at official leadership meetings of the armed forces.[165] Wiranto began to seek their advice and eventually their language of reform permeated Wiranto's own: "Of course the crisis changed us a lot. It forced us to reconsider the principles of our

political beliefs. I include myself in this. . . . We had to go out to people and signal that we understood their problems, and that we were ready for change."[166]

Prabowo and Wiranto were candid about their rivalry. Prabowo said: "There was not good chemistry between us. . . . We never served in the same units. We came from different backgrounds." Wiranto grew up in traditional Central Java. Prabowo grew up abroad in European and Asian capitals. Where Prabowo's postings were field and combat assignments, Wiranto spent time in staff jobs and provincial commands.[167] Wiranto also detailed some of his rows with Prabowo in his as-told-to biography:

> When I became Army Chief of Staff on the basis of a fair judgment of Wanjakti, the Status and Career Council of the Armed Forces, it was decided that the new commander of Kopassus replacing Prabowo would be Brig. Gen. Suwisma. But the decision could not be carried out because Prabowo had gone directly to President Suharto and argued with him to cancel Suwisma's appointment. The argument he presented to President Suharto was that the new commander should espouse the same religion as that of the majority of Kopassus members. Otherwise, it would be difficult for the elite force to carry out its mission. . . . Prabowo then personally proposed Maj. Gen. Muchdi PR, who was then military commander in Kalimantan.[168]
>
> I was certainly very disappointed by such maneuvers. So I told President Suharto the real story. I assured him that Wanjakti had made the right decision because it was based on the considerations forwarded in several meetings attended by all the chiefs of staff. I also said I would be responsible for the decision. But I found out later that I was too late because then ABRI Commander General Feisal Tanjung had signed the decision bypassing me as Army Chief, arguing that the President had wanted it to go in that direction. . . .
>
> As Prabowo's superior, I turned down several times his proposals for military hardware purchases because I believed they were irrational and did not serve any urgent need. For instance, he came up with the proposal for developing a chopper squadron for Kopassus. To me this was "mission impossible" because even within the Army as a whole we still had difficulties supporting air operation units, technically and financially. He also had the desire the equip Kopasuss with 72 used tanks brought in from Jordan. Not all of the tanks were in good shape, so I rejected the proposal.[169]

Further indication that the two officers' enmity would spiral out of control was evident just before the 1997 parliamentary elections. At that time, the

Center for Policy Development Studies, the Islamist think tank that was linked to Prabowo and several other Islamist-leaning officers, published a paper accusing Wiranto of planning Suharto's downfall.[170] Wiranto retorted that the report "contained nothing but lies and garbage."[171]

Prabowo Gains a Foothold, Wiranto Suffers

By early 1998, the simmering tension between Prabowo and Wiranto degenerated into open conflict. It was during this period that Prabowo, using the ongoing financial crisis and the political turmoil as pretext, undermined Wiranto's authority as commander of the armed forces, challenging in particular Wiranto's ability to ensure security and stability in the country.[172] On several occasions, Prabowo openly questioned Wiranto's abilities as commander and advanced his dismissal while touting his promotion as ABRI commander to a number of important people, including Suharto's eldest daughter Siti "Tutut" Hardijanti Rukmana and prominent Islamic scholar Nurcholish Madjid.[173]

In January 1998, Prabowo began promoting views that Chinese rent-seekers had undermined the Indonesian economy and were thus contributing to the financial crisis. Concomitantly, violent demonstrations took place at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) for two consecutive days. CSIS was founded in the early 1970s by intellectuals of largely Chinese-Catholic descent, together with Ali Murtopo and Sudjono Humardhani. The think tank was widely viewed as being behind the anti-Islamist policies of the government from the 1970s to 1980s. A senior CSIS researcher said that Prabowo and Maj. Gen. Zacky Anwar Makarim (his ally in military intelligence) were behind the mobilization of the protestors. The demonstrations promptly stopped when Wiranto ordered the police to secure the CSIS offices.[174]

Prabowo operated as a separate center of authority within the armed forces, undermining the military's chain of command. In early 1998, he ordered the kidnappings and disappearances of student activists. Prabowo acknowledged in several instances that he created a covert team [Tim Mawar (Rose Team)] of crack soldiers from Kopassus to undertake the kidnappings of student activists between February to March 1998.[175] Feisal Tanjung, then commander of the armed forces, and Hartono, previously chief of the army, denied ever issuing orders for the kidnappings.[176] Prabowo admitted that he conducted these covert operations without first securing approval from his superiors because he did not want "to involve and cause problems for the ABRI Headquarters."

Hartono suggested "Prabowo had taken personal initiative that led to the abduction of political activists to achieve personal political gain."[177]

Wiranto was aware of Prabowo's activities to marginalize him, which he said "clearly violated military ethics as the Kostrad Commander." Wiranto called on Prabowo "to concentrate on his duty to supervise his troops, not to go around meddling into political and state affairs without his superior's knowledge and approval."[178]

About three months prior to the fall of Suharto, the fissure between Prabowo and Wiranto became irrevocable. In February 1998, Maj. Gen. Agum Gumelar, the South Sulawesi regional commander (and Wiranto ally), called on the officer corps to declare an oath of loyalty to General Wiranto shortly after the latter was sworn in as the new armed forces chief. Despite repeated public denials by the two parties, Agum's proposal confirmed many Indonesians' suspicions of the rift between Prabowo and Wiranto.[179] The oath was in essence a clear warning to Prabowo and his associates "that everybody understood who the new commander was, and that was Wiranto."[180] The gulf between Prabowo and Wiranto was now so deep-seated that "getting all those officers to sit together on political matters will be difficult."[181]

The circumstances leading to the riots of May 13–14, 1998, were another example of Prabowo's disregard of the military's chain-of-command. Riots broke out in Jakarta the day after some students were shot at Trisakti University. The citywide looting and burning went on for nearly two days and left up to twelve hundred people dead. Circumstantial evidence implicates Prabowo for instigating the riots in order to create the impression that Wiranto, as commander of the armed forces, was incapable of upholding order. Wiranto's inability to curb the riots would have been sufficient cause to replace him and elevate Prabowo to the top position to restore order. Wiranto said in an interview in 2000, "I do not know who was behind the shootings and the violence that followed, but one thing was obvious: I was Commander of the Armed Forces, Suharto was away. If anything happened during his absence, it was clear that my opponents would try to blame me."[182] This scenario is not implausible, as it resembles the events of 1965–66 when Suharto used his position as Kostrad commander to wrest power from Sukarno. A senior military officer suggested that it was Prabowo's plan to take power from Suharto in the same manner.[183]

Suspicion that Prabowo instigated the spread of violence was based on the inactivity of security forces during the rioting.[184] Troops from the Jakarta garrisons Kostrad and Kopassus, all under the command of Prabowo or officers

closely allied with him, remained conspicuously indifferent toward the unrest. In addition, Prabowo appeared to have clearly understood that the riots had the potential to accelerate Habibie's rise to the presidency, and consequently his elevation to the top post in the armed forces. Prabowo purportedly had agreed with Habibie after the People's Consultative Assembly session of March 1998 that if Habibie became president, he would appoint Prabowo as commander of the armed forces.[185] Given the shaky state of Suharto's health—he had had a mild stroke in December 1997—Habibie's chances of succeeding him were better than those of any previous vice president.[186]

At the height of the rioting, Prabowo went to see Habibie and discussed possible scenarios and what that meant for him. Reportedly, Prabowo jokingly suggested that Habibie prepare himself for the presidency, as Jakarta's deteriorating situation would eventually force Suharto to step down.[187] Reports that Prabowo dispatched Kostrad units from Makassar (Sulawesi) and Kopassus units from Kartasura (Central Java) to Jakarta during the riots without Wiranto's or Subagyo's (the army chief) authorization also fueled suspicions of his hidden agenda.[188]

With Prabowo's maneuverings, the balance-of-power within the armed forces between Wiranto and Prabowo tipped in favor of the latter. To survive, Wiranto had to prepare for the post-Suharto era. Wiranto therefore acted with "strategic sense" and planned for Prabowo's removal since March 1998.[189] A military source said that Wiranto "knew what his rival was doing but did nothing except keep a close watch on his activities." Wiranto was not keen to openly confront Prabowo in view of his own precarious position vis-à-vis the president's son-in-law. One of Wiranto's advisors explained: "At that time, Wiranto was not sure whether Suharto had known of Prabowo's activities. If he moved against Prabowo, and the President approved his initiative of sterilizing the political situation. . . . Wiranto's career would have ended just there. He was a former presidential aide, but Prabowo was the President's son-in-law."[190] Wiranto calculated that it would be better to wait for Prabowo to dig deeper and bury himself rather than challenging him head on.[191]

Wiranto also had further reasons for thwarting Prabowo. First, Wiranto realized the difficulty he had in further defending Suharto. This was confirmed in large part by Wiranto and his officers' increasing contact with opposition leaders, including Amien Rais, who left no doubt about his intention to continue criticizing the regime until substantial reform had taken place.[192] According to Wiranto, "Frankly, I thought we had reached a dead end. The

students were very stubborn, and there was no movement on the political side either. I told my staff that all we were doing was trying to prevent people from getting killed. Because once a student gets shot, they will have a martyr, and then we will lose control."[193] The danger in this situation was that if Wiranto continued to defend the president's actions, Prabowo could exploit the continuing protests as pretext to suppress the demonstrations and gain control of the political situation, thereby sidelining Wiranto.[194]

Second, if Wiranto thwarted Prabowo from suppressing the student protests and from using forceful means to gain control of the political situation, Prabowo could not claim to either Suharto or Habibie (in the event he was made president) that he was the only officer capable of reining in the student protests. Following the May 1998 riots, this consideration had newfound urgency as Prabowo made an even stronger effort to undermine Wiranto's position as armed forces commander. As Suharto was in Egypt during the riots, the president received a request for a private audience from Prabowo's personal messenger, Iwan Abdurrahman, who flew directly from Jakarta to Cairo.[195] Abdurrahman presented Suharto with a personal letter from Prabowo, in which he suggested the establishment of a Kopkamtib-like institution to restore security and order.[196] According to the proposal discussed among Prabowo's inner circle, Prabowo suggested that Suharto resurrect the old Kopkamtib structure, in which the deputy ABRI commander in chief (Wapang), a position that had been liquidated in the early 1980s, would concurrently serve as commander of the new body. In this context, Prabowo could become the Wapang and the commander of the Kopkamtib-like body. Alternatively, General Subagyo, as army chief, could become the Kopkamtib and Prabowo succeed him. Prabowo's promptness in suggesting the establishment of the Kopkamtib-like institution adds to the suspicion that he might have deliberately staged the May riots.[197]

It would appear that Prabowo's political machinations during the last few months of Suharto's tenure in office were merely the consequence of his ambitions rather than Suharto himself (the personalization of his rule). As Theo Sjafei, a former commander in one of Prabowo's units, noted: "[Prabowo] . . . is an officer with great potential. He thinks far ahead, and is always eager to be way out in front. He also has substantial financial resources and connections with power [*kekuasaan*]. And he always wants to be Number One. In satisfying these ambitions, he sometimes exceeds his authority . . . oversteps his assigned task. . . . He really does think far ahead, and is very ambitious."[198]

Without the increasing personalization of Suharto's New Order regime, particularly since the late 1980s, Prabowo would not have risen as rapidly as he did up the military hierarchy. His marriage to Suharto's daughter was significant in his military ascent. In addition, without Suharto's strategy of divide and rule in the armed forces, Prabowo would not have had the autonomy for the provocative moves vis-à-vis Wiranto. Theo Sjafei's observations to the journal *Indonesia* are again instructive:

> In my view at least, the one to blame is not Prabowo, but his superior/commander. It is a failure of leadership on the part of his superior officer if he cannot ensure that Prabowo is obedient, loyal, and respectful to his superiors. . . .
>
> His commanding officer or superiors must be men with clear and firm leadership ability. . . .
>
> That is why, if it turns out that Prabowo is judged to have done what people accuse him of, I see it more a failure of Prabowo's commanding officers than of Prabowo himself.[199]

Failure of leadership in the Indonesian military occurred because Prabowo got special treatment from his superior officers who were more interested to please Suharto:

> Yes, I saw Prabowo getting special treatment. Particularly and excessively at the hands of ABRI Commander Feisal Tanjung and Army Chief of Staff Hartono. Prabowo would never have gotten into the present mess if he had been properly trained and developed [*dibina*] by the Army Chief of Staff. But even before that he got special treatment. . . .
>
> General Hartono even went so far as to use Prabowo to get closer to the center of power. Because he looked at Prabowo as Pak Harto's [Suharto] son-in-law, he thought he could use him.[200]

Coalescing the Movement to Depose Suharto

Wiranto's belief that Prabowo's position in the armed forces was untenable was a significant step toward the eventual toppling of Suharto's New Order regime. Wiranto's decision was no assurance that the divided military (pro-Wiranto vs. pro-Prabowo) would stand behind him and protect the continuing student protests. Decisive in 1998 was the coalescing of domestic support, in particular from the leading Islamist organization in Indonesia, key intellectuals, and the student movement, behind Wiranto.[201]

Islam is the dominant religion in Indonesia with the greatest number of religious adherents. Vitally for Wiranto, the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), the largest Muslim organization in Indonesia with close to 30 million members, backed him in his struggle with Prabowo.[202] The NU has a nationwide presence and is especially influential in the rural parts of Java, the most populous island in Indonesia. The NU was a willing ally in this intramilitary struggle as the organization was pushed to the political sidelines during Suharto's courtship of Islamist groups in the early 1990s. Suharto's envisaged constituency was then the urban, modernist, middle-class segment of Indonesia's Islamic population, as targeted through the ICMI. Then NU head, Abdurrahman Wahid, said that the creation of ICMI made his organization a "toothless lion."[203] The NU thus sensed an opportunity to regain its previous dominance following the collapse of the Suharto regime if it sided with Wiranto.[204] Also, this pact was easier to broker as Wiranto and NU's leader, Abdurrahman Wahid, had a long-standing business-financial relationship.[205] Wahid made explicit NU's support for Wiranto days before Suharto's resignation: "NU would support ABRI's position. If Pak Wiranto moves to the right direction, we would go to the right direction. If Pak Wiranto goes to the left, we would go to the left."[206]

Wiranto was also in touch with other leaders of the Islamic community and leading intellectuals in planning for a post-Suharto Indonesia, one of whom was Amien Rais, who spoke regularly with Gen. Agum Gumelar: "We exchanged information with Amien. He told us things, we told him things. For instance, when some within the government thought Amien should be arrested for treason, we told him to slow down. Yudhoyono also knew Amien well, so we had pretty good relations with him."[207] In early May 1998, Wiranto dispatched then chief of social-political affairs, Lt. Gen. Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, to meet the well-regarded Muslim scholar Nurcholish Madjid and other intellectuals, such as military historian Salim Said, Eep Saefulloh Fatah, and Yuddy Chrisnandi at the army headquarters.[208] This session was followed by a series of closed-door sessions featuring a number of civilian academics, including Professor Ryaas Rasyid, rector of University of Indonesia (UI) Asman Budisantoso, and UI's constitutional law expert Harun Al-Rasyid.[209] Majid, on his part, saw ABRI as key to the political reform in Indonesia: "Just look at Thailand, the Philippines, and South Korea. There the cooperation of the military was crucial in initiating democratic change. So we had to win ABRI's support for reform. If they remained obstructive, no change would have been possible."[210]

As for the student protestors, they needed an insider to force Suharto out after months of demonstrations without much success. Wiranto provided this option. While it may seem peculiar that the activists would want to collaborate with the armed forces, an institution that had violently put down previous student protests, there was already a history of regular contact between Jakarta student activists and military intelligence officers since the early 1990s. These dialogues were sometimes initiated by the students but were more frequently instigated by military intelligence officers. The officers would seek information about the students' activities while the students used these meetings to seek information about "political constellations at the elite level." There was an accepted understanding at these dialogues that each side was trying to make use of and manipulate the other. Indeed, at one of these meetings, an intelligence office told the forum: "We share the same vision, we've both been disappointed and we should work together to overthrow Suharto."[211]

The students were for Wiranto and the armed forces, the "moral force" of the nation. Student activism has a unique historical mythology in Indonesia history—the 1966 student movement provided mass support for the overthrow of Indonesia's first president Sukarno, and thus gave Suharto's nascent regime crucial legitimation.[212]

Cascade of Defections within the Armed Forces: Habibie Allies with Wiranto

Wiranto's political position vis-à-vis Prabowo strengthened when then vice president Habibie reneged on his earlier agreement with Prabowo and backed Wiranto instead. This "marriage of convenience" was political prudence for both parties. Habibie, based on the advice of his inner circle, recognized that it might be more farsighted to contain the wildly ambitious Prabowo.[213] While Wiranto's position vis-à-vis Prabowo was clear, Habibie's sudden change of attitude also reflected his pragmatism—he was unpopular within the armed forces and needed an ally to prevent others from the armed forces from undermining his political position if he became president.[214] Concomitantly, Habibie could rely on Wiranto to contain the "threat" of Prabowo, whom some of Habibie's advisers described as highly unreliable and dangerous.[215]

The highly volatile image of Prabowo was confirmed following his removal as Kostrad commander and reassignment to the inconsequential post of head of the command and staff school after Suharto's resignation. Prabowo took the reassignment badly and first tried appealing directly to Suharto shortly after

he read his resignation speech. Suharto admonished Prabowo for making trouble. Eldest daughter Siti Hardijanti Rukmana and other family members were said to have joined in the criticism. Suharto's children believed that it was Prabowo who had provoked the unrest that had led to their father's ouster.[216]

Despite the rebuff from Suharto and his family, Prabowo made repeated efforts to see Habibie. Prabowo later arrived at Habibie's house and demanded through the new president's adjutant to reverse the transfer order and reshuffle the military leadership. Prabowo showed up again at the presidential palace the next day in full battle gear, armed with an automatic pistol and accompanied by "truckloads" of Kopassus troops.[217] A tense verbal confrontation ensued with members of the Presidential Security Squad as Prabowo demanded to see Habibie. Prabowo agreed to hand over his pistol in return for admission to the building. Major General Sintong Panjaitan, one of the new president's military aides, later persuaded Prabowo to leave without seeing Habibie. The incident triggered an alert throughout the city. Kostrad troops hastily reerected barbed-wire barricades at the approaches to the palace complex and armored columns were redeployed in some areas. Habibie himself moved to the state guesthouse adjoining his presidential office, where he remained overnight.[218]

Wiranto, on the other hand, allied with Habibie because it was the rightful constitutional process. By taking the legal path, Wiranto would disassociate himself from Prabowo's poor public image—reckless, prone to violence, unpredictable, ambitious—and enhance his reputation both domestically and internationally, making him more palatable as the commander of the armed forces. As Wiranto recounted in his autobiography: "At least two opportunities presented themselves to TNI to grab power by non-popular means . . . I refused to act on either of them. . . . I had no desire to pursue that course of action due to moral and constitutional considerations."[219]

As domestic support coalesced around Wiranto, more pro-Prabowo military officers defected. Key officers who changed sides included supposed Prabowo allies such as the Jakarta garrison commander Gen. Syafrie Syamsuddin and Jakarta police chief Gen. Hamami Nata.[220] Wiranto subsequently secured the loyalty of other important military leaders, such as the navy, police, and air force chiefs of staff; most of the regional commanders, including Djadja Suparman, the Surabaya commander; and the West Java Regional Army Commander Djamari Chaniago, another officer who was considered a Prabowo ally. With this authority, Wiranto mobilized troops from West, Central, and East Java, including a Kostrad unit under the command of Prabowo's classmate, Brig.

Gen. Ryamizard Ryacudu. Wiranto activated these soldiers together with heavily armed police units to counter the troops Prabowo had dispatched from Makassar and Kartasura without Wiranto or Subagyo's authorization the evening of Suharto's resignation.[221]

In the end, none of Prabowo's presumed allies in strategic command positions rallied to his cause. Army chief Subagyo Hadisiswoyo personally took over command of Kopassus from Maj. Gen. Muchdi (a Prabowo ally) the night after Suharto's resignation. Prabowo had no real choice but to acquiesce when Wiranto summoned him on the morning of May 23 and told him of his reassignment as commander of Seskoad.[222] The defection of proregime officers clearly reflected their desire for self-preservation in the post-Suharto era.

With the bulk of the armed forces loyal to him and with backing from key domestic constituents, Wiranto met Suharto on the evening of May 20. At that point, Wiranto refused Suharto's directive to impose martial law and a state of emergency. Wiranto explained to Suharto that the use of force to defend the regime would make matters worse and asked that Suharto step down.[223] "I knew since April," Wiranto was later to recount, "that Suharto had to announce his resignation at some stage in order to calm down the protesters. But I had hoped for a transitional period. . . . After the meeting with the Muslim clerics, however, and the public reactions to it, I knew it was a matter of days rather than months or years. But at the same time, Suharto's dignity had to be maintained."[224]

Suharto agreed with Wiranto's recommendations. More than three decades earlier, Suharto had witnessed firsthand Sukarno's attempts to regain control over the military and the political situation in the aftermath of the abortive coup in 1965 end in disgrace. Suharto must have been well aware of the historical parallels between Sukarno's eventual fate and his dwindling authority in the last days of May 1998. Rather than risk the People's Consultative Assembly stripping him of the presidency (a procedure that Sukarno had suffered in the early New Order period), Suharto agreed to surrender the presidency to Habibie and retire from political life.[225] With Suharto's resignation on May 21 and his concurrence not to use force to forestall the students' protests, the popular demonstrations succeeded in doing what they set out to do when they started.

Conclusion

President Suharto of Indonesia was one of the most repressive autocrats of the twentieth century. The Indonesian armed forces was a key accomplice to the

Table 4.3. Key findings

Form of authoritarian institution	Personalistic
Defection	Yes. Gen. Wiranto sides with student protests.
Pact	Yes. Nahdlatul Ulama, student activists, Habibie.
Outcome of popular revolt	Demonstrations persist. Authoritarian rule collapses.

regime's major crackdowns, including the Tanjung Priok incident of 1984, the Lampung crackdown in 1989, and the Dili (Santa Cruz) massacre of 1991. The military in these incidents left no doubt they firmly backed the Suharto regime as their repressive actions led to the deaths of hundreds of unarmed civilians. From January to May 1998, when student protests challenging the Suharto regime erupted across the archipelago, the military stood by and eventually sided with the demonstrators (table 4.3). How and why did this happen?

This chapter, like the previous one on Marcos, demonstrated the deleterious impact of personalism in authoritarian institutions, particularly within the armed forces. Suharto's personalization of the Indonesian military created a cutthroat competition between two senior officers, generals Wiranto and Prabowo. When mass protests against the regime developed, Wiranto's countering of Prabowo's moves to undermine his position in the armed forces, and Wiranto's subsequent decision to ease Suharto out of power, were made possible by the support he received from a coalition of political forces including Indonesia's largest Islamic organization, the Nahdlatul Ulama. The next two chapters will illustrate what happens under different conditions, when authoritarian regimes share power and ensure that their rule is not personalized.

CHAPTER FIVE

Power-sharing Authoritarianism in China and Burma

Chapters 2 and 3 illustrated the consequences of personalism in authoritarian regimes contending with the challenge of popular protests. In the armed forces, the impact of personalism on the organization is clear: it creates incentives for disaffected military officers to defect when mass demonstrations emerge, as was the case in the Philippine and Indonesian militaries in 1986 and 1998 respectively. This chapter examines the converse context, when authoritarian regimes are institutionalized, share power, have rules to resolve disputes and govern the behavior of the ruling elite. With such mechanisms in place, I argue, personalism can be checked and the political elite are likely to remain invested in the continuation of autocratic rule. In the discussion that follows, I look at two forms of authoritarian rule that can mitigate personalism—political parties and military juntas. Specifically, I highlight the critical function of the Chinese Communist Party in preventing defections of the elite and the People's Liberation Army during the Tiananmen protests of 1989 and also that of the Burmese Tatmadaw in holding the senior officer corps together when Buddhist monks rebelled against the military regime during the failed Saffron Revolt of September 2007.[1]

The Tiananmen Protests in China (1989)

The emergence of the mass protests in Beijing's Tiananmen Square can be traced back to the death of Hu Yaobang, the former general secretary of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), on April 15, 1989. Hu had become a hero to Chinese students who saw him as an advocate of democracy after his refusal to halt an earlier series of Tiananmen Square protests in 1986–87, which subsequently led to his expulsion from the CCP. Hu's forthright calls for "rapid reform and his almost open contempt of Maoist excesses" made him a convenient scapegoat

within the CCP.[2] On April 16, several hundred students marched from various Beijing universities to Tiananmen Square to place memorial wreaths at the foot of the Revolutionary Heroes' Monument. Over the next several days, the ranks of the mourners swelled to tens of thousands. The first pro-democracy rallies also started during this period, accompanied by demonstrations in front of the government's official Zhongnanhai residential compound, to the west of Tiananmen Square. On the night of April 18–19, student demonstrators, numbering more than ten thousand repeatedly attempted to gain entry into the Zhongnanhai complex and demanded to see Premier Li Peng.[3] On April 22, at Hu's funeral in the Great Hall of the People, almost 200,000 students protested in Tiananmen Square demanding "a reversal of the verdict against him" and highlighted again the need for greater political reforms and democratization in China.[4]

After students staged a boycott of classes on April 24, the party-controlled *People's Daily* issued a strongly worded editorial on April 26. The editorial was based on Deng Xiaoping's comments at an urgent April 22 Politburo meeting and appeared with the headline: "It is Necessary to Take a Clear-Cut Stand to Oppose Turmoil [*dongluan*]." The paper called the students' actions unpatriotic, claiming that the demonstrations constituted an "act of hooliganism" that had been "incited by a very small number of people with evil motives."[5] This editorial enraged the students. The following day the number of protesters marching to Tiananmen Square from Beijing's universities doubled, involving up to 100,000 people, the largest spontaneous protests to occur in China since 1949. Also for the first time, more than half a million Beijing residents lined the streets of the demonstration route as large numbers of nonstudents marched alongside, offering encouragement, food, and drink to the protesters.[6]

At the seventieth anniversary of the 1919 May Fourth Movement, about 100,000 students marched to Tiananmen Square as an Asian Development Bank (ADB) meeting convened in the nearby Great Hall. The protestors demanded media reforms and a formal dialogue between the authorities and student-elected representatives. Concomitantly, Zhao Ziyang, the general secretary of the CCP, supported the student movement and repudiated the April 26 *People's Daily* editorial in a speech at the Asian Development Bank meeting. Zhao claimed that most of the protesters were "in no way opposed to our basic system; they only demand that we correct malpractices in our work" and that "the reasonable demands of the students must be met through democratic and

legal means." Zhao added the government had to "remain calm" and "employ reason and restraint."[7]

Emboldened by Zhao's apparent support for the protest movement, about three thousand students began a hunger strike in Tiananmen Square on May 13. Zhao Ziyang later made a TV appeal to the students to end the hunger strike because of the upcoming Sino-Soviet summit. The students ignored Zhao's appeal as the hunger strike and protests continued in the square. Because of the continued presence of protestors at Tiananmen, the venue for Gorbachev's welcome ceremony was changed to the airport. On May 17, almost 1 million people marched through Beijing in support of the students. By this time, the demonstrators, now including people of all ages and from all walks of life, had taken effective control of Tiananmen and the surrounding areas. Using sophisticated broadcasting equipment hooked up to loudspeakers in the Square, protest leaders could counteract government propaganda broadcasts and spread their own messages. Members of government organizations also joined in. The protests led to the cancellation of Gorbachev's Forbidden City visit. The Sino-Soviet summit news conference, which was scheduled at the Great Hall, also had to be moved to suburbs.[8]

On May 20, the government declared martial law but the demonstrations continued while the government wavered between the leaderships of Premier Li Peng and General Secretary Zhao Ziyang. More than 100,000 students continued their sit-in at Tiananmen Square despite the authorities' strict orders to leave. When military units moved into the city in convoys from the suburbs, huge crowds of Beijing residents gathered at major intersections around the capital to block the military vehicles from reaching Tiananmen Square. The indignant Beijing residents, offended by the government's attempts to impose martial law, lectured the soldiers about the peaceful and patriotic aims of the demonstrations. A number of soldiers were seen brandishing the "V-for-Victory" sign to the crowds that surrounded their vehicles. Some troops even held handwritten placards attesting their support while others simply appeared bored or bemused as they awaited further instructions from their equally bewildered officers.[9] On May 30, students from the Academy of Fine Arts erected the "Goddess of Democracy" statue at Tiananmen Square.[10]

The Communist Party Draws the Line

The CCP had planned to forcefully crackdown on the Tiananmen protestors fairly early on. At the Politburo Standing Committee meeting prior to the

April 26 *People's Daily* editorial, Deng Xiaoping told his party colleagues that the People's Liberation Army (PLA) must be brought to Beijing to crush the protestors:

> This is not an ordinary student movement, but turmoil. So we must have a clear-cut stand and implement effective measures to quickly oppose and stop this unrest. We cannot let them have their way. . . . Their motive is to overthrow the leadership of the Communist Party and to forfeit the future of the country and the nation. We must move quickly to adopt preemptive measures in order to gain time. . . . We must prepare ourselves to enter into a nation-wide struggle, and resolutely crush the turmoil. Otherwise, there will be no peaceful days, indeed peace will be lost forever.[11]

Deng also said: "We do not fear spilling blood . . . and we do not fear the international reaction,"[12] and that the shedding of blood—even tens of thousands of lives—was an acceptable price to pay to avert chaos.[13] On the decision to enact martial law, Deng said:

> Beijing can't keep on going like this. We first have to settle the instability in Beijing, because if we don't we'll never be able to settle it in the other provinces, regions, and cities. Lying down on railroad tracks; beating, smashing, and robbing; if these aren't turmoil then what are they? If things continue like this, we could even end up under house arrest. After thinking long and hard about this, I've concluded that we should bring in the People's Liberation Army and declare martial law in Beijing—more precisely in Beijing's urban districts. The aim of martial law will be to suppress the turmoil once and for all and to return things quickly to normal. This is the unshirkable duty of the Party and the government.[14]

Some Reservations among the Officer Corps

As noted earlier, the PLA's response to the martial law order was equivocal. The party's martial law decree of May 20 tasked the "24th, 27th, 28th, 38th, 63rd, and 65th Group Armies of the Beijing Garrison Command under the Beijing Military District, the 39th and 40th Group Armies of the Shenyang Military District, and the 44th and 67th Group Armies of the Jinan Military District" to move into the capital to restore order.[15] However, officers from the Beijing Military Region, including the deputy commander, Lt. Gen. Yan Tongmao, the commander of the Twenty-eighth Army, and the commander of the

Thirty-eighth Group Army, Maj. Gen. Xu Qinxian, were hesitant to comply with the marital law orders.[16] The Beijing Military Region was the last to declare their support for the decree and not until several divisions from the Shenyang and Jinan regions had arrived in the capital.[17] The Defense Ministry under Gen. Qin Jiwei was likewise slow to announce its support for martial law even though other organs of the State Council had already done so by May 1989.[18] The Thirty-eighth Group Army, which was supposed to be leading the charge into Beijing, camped in the fields south of the city as well as in disused factories and hospitals instead. Soldiers from this unit were also seen fraternizing with the local population.[19]

Several retired officers expressed reservations about the martial law decision, including the only two living PLA field marshals at that time—Nie Rongzhen and Xu Xiangqian—and seven generals: Zhang Aiping, Yang Dezhi, Ye Fei, Ziao Ke, Chen Zaidao, Song Shilun, and Li Jukui.[20] Field Marshal Nie also met with the student protestors and assured them that the PLA would not move against the students. Field Marshal Xu did not meet with the students but conveyed through members of his staff that the army should not be used to suppress the demonstrations. There were also other open letters from military leaders. Defense Minister Qin Jiwei and Chief of Staff Chi Haotian along with more than one hundred other military officers, including former defense minister Zhang Aiping, former chief of staff Yang Dezhi, former higher military academy director Xiao Ke, and former naval chief Ye Fei, reportedly signed a letter to the Central Military Commission urging them not to send the PLA to the capital.[21]

The Hard Line Wins

After weeks of intraparty tussling, Deng Xiaoping sided with the hard-line approach of Premier Li Peng and ordered troops to clear Tiananmen Square. The decision was made on the morning of June 2, at a meeting of the CCP Politburo Standing Committee. Wang Zhen, the vice president, remarked at the meeting:

> Those goddamn bastards! Who do they think they are, trampling on sacred ground like Tiananmen so long? They're really asking for it! We should send the troops right now to grab those counterrevolutionaries. Comrade Xiaoping! What's the People's Liberation Army for, anyway? What are martial law troops for? They're not supposed to just sit around and eat! They're supposed to grab

> counterrevolutionaries! We've got to do it or we'll never forgive ourselves! We've got to do it or the common people will rebel! Anybody who tries to overthrow the Communist Party deserves death and no burial![22]

Deng concurred with Wang's admonition and ended the meeting by issuing orders to the PLA to clear the square:

> I agree with all of you and suggest that martial law troops begin tonight to carry out the clearing plan and finish it within two days. As we proceed with the clearing, we must explain it clearly to all the citizens and students, asking them to leave and doing our very best to persuade them. But if refuse to leave, they will be responsible for the consequences.[23]

On June 3 and 4, the PLA moved into the square. Although certain individuals and military units initially wavered when tasked to enforce martial law in May, the response of the PLA was unequivocal and unified after Deng and the key members of the Politburo Standing Committee decided to forcibly remove the protesters. This was displayed in the military's coherent and decisive use of military force in the operation: 150,000 to 350,000 troops were deployed to the square, representing thirteen out of the twenty-four PLA group armies. Apart from the units already in Beijing when martial law was declared, the following units were also dispatched to the capital: the Twenty-first and Forty-seventh Group armies from Lanzhou Province, the Twentieth, Twenty-sixty, and Fifty-fourth Group armies from Jinan Province, and the Thirty-ninth and Fortieth Group armies from Shenyang Province. Airborne and maritime elements of the PLA, such as the Fifteenth Airborne Division from Wuhan Hubei Province, were likewise sent to Beijing.[24] In addition, antiaircraft guns, heavy artillery, and tanks were employed during the crackdown.[25]

The Thirty-eighth Group Army, which was popularly cast as the good guys because of their hesitance to enforce martial law, eventually participated in the forceful crackdown. Soldiers from the Thirty-eighth Group Army fired the first shots and did most of the killing in Tiananmen. Units involved in the Tiananmen operations were equipped with modern Type-69 tanks and armored cars, which the Twenty-seventh Group Army did not possess but the Thirty-eighth Group Army did.[26]

After calm had gradually returned to the capital, at the meeting of the Martial Law Troop Enforcement Command on June 9, Deng told officers that al-

though "losses are regrettable," he commended them on successfully crushing the "counterrevolutionary rebellion" and restoring order in Beijing.[27]

The Failed Saffron Revolt in Burma (2007)

Almost two decades after the Tiananmen crackdown, another popular movement against autocratic rule emerged, this time in Burma.[28] This popular uprising began in January 2007 with small-scale sporadic protests against the military junta. These demonstrations were organized mainly by supporters of the National League for Democracy (NLD) and the '88 Generation students' organization, but the gatherings also included individual and other activists representing human rights, labor rights, and HIV/AIDS groups.[29] Demonstrators encouraged citizens to write letters to the military junta, the State Peace and Development Council (SPDC), to raise their concerns about their economic difficulties in areas such rising food prices, electricity cuts, corruption, and the lack of access to education.[30]

Eight months later in August, the SPDC decided to raise fuel-oil prices across the board, jacking up the price of diesel oil by 100 percent and compressed natural gas by almost 500 percent. The government's action in raising fuel prices without prior warning was an attempt to address Burma's growing budget deficit, caused in large part by the construction of the country's new capital Naypyidaw and other pet projects the SPDC continued to pour the country's resources into, such as the building of new dams, bridges, and other high-profile energy projects. The military's budget was another component of the budget deficit as the SPDC had raised the salaries of armed forces personnel across the board in 2006. This sharp rise in fuel prices had an immediate impact on the cost of food, transport, and electricity generation in Yangon and across the country, adding to the already evident resentment against the SPDC's corruption, predation, and economic mismanagement.[31]

Gathering Protests

On August 17, the leaders of the '88 Generation students and the NLD organized a series of protests in Yangon, although these were quickly dispersed through arrest and harassment from the SPDC's "mass-based" civilian wing, the Union Solidarity and Development Association (USDA), and its abusive militia, Swan Arr Shin. Nonetheless, protests spread to Mandalay, Sittwe, Monywa, Pakokku, Moulmein, and Pegu.

On September 5, the protests gathered pace when a group of Buddhist monks holding signs denouncing the price hikes marched in Pakokku, a religious center located close to the city of Mandalay. The monks were cheered on by thousands of protesters. The army intervened brutally, beating and apprehending the monks and bystanders.[32] In response to the violence against monks in Pakokku, the newly formed All Burma Monks Alliance (ABMA) placed four demands in front of the SPDC lest it face excommunication: apologize for the violence against the monks in Pakokku; reduce the prices of key commodities including fuel, cooking oil, and rice; release all political prisoners including opposition leader Daw Aung San Suu Kyi; and start a dialogue between the SPDC and the political opposition. The SPDC ignored these demands and instead offered the *sayadaws* (senior abbots/monks) at Pakokku financial compensation, which the monks refused. The SPDC also made high-profile offerings of money, robes, and gifts to monasteries elsewhere even as they stepped up security around key monasteries in Rangoon, Mandalay, Pakokku, Pegu, and Sittwe. When these demands were ignored, the ABMA called for a symbolically potent act known as the "overturning the bowls" (*pattta nikkuijana kamma*)—the refusal to accept alms from military personnel and members of the USDA and Swan Arr Shin. The ABMA resumed their demonstrations in Rangoon and Mandalay. The largest of these protests occurred on September 18 when more than a thousand monks marched in Yangon.[33]

On September 22, a decisive moment in the demonstrations occurred when some 500 monks were allowed to pass through the barricades surrounding Aung San Suu Kyi's home, where she was being held under house arrest and briefly prayed with her. This unexpected and unprecedented meeting invigorated the protests. The following day, an estimated 20,000 protesters, including some 3,000 monks, marched in Rangoon, shouting slogans for the release of political prisoners and for the SPDC to relinquish its hold on power. The following day, protests in Yangon ballooned to an estimated 150,000 people, including 30,000 to 50,000 monks. The monks carried overturned alms bowls and were joined by nuns as well as student groups. Also in the crowd were elected parliamentarians of the NLD who had never taken up their seats after the 1990 elections and members of the banned All Burma Buddhist Monks Union. Well-known public figures such as the comedian Zargana and the movie star Kyaw Thu publicly offered alms to the marching monks to demonstrate support for their cause. Similar marches also took place in twenty-five cities across Burma.[34]

The SPDC Responds

After about a month of protests, the SPDC took a more hard-line stance. On the evening of September 24, the minister of religious affairs, Brig. Gen. Thura Myint Maung, appeared on state television to denounce the demonstrations as the work of "internal and external destructionists." The state-controlled Sangha Maha Nayaka committee (the SPDC affiliated committee of senior monks dealing with religious issues) then issued an edict prohibiting monks from participating in "secular affairs" or joining "illegal" organizations and directed sayadaws not to harbor monks who violated these rules.

The morning of September 25, the SPDC amassed military, USDA, Swan Arr Shin, and local Peace and Development Council (PDC) personnel and trucks in Yangon. A curfew was then imposed and a general roundup began. Monasteries were surrounded and shut down on the eve of the crackdown, thus removing the bulk of the monks from the following day's suppression. Trucks with blaring speakers began warning people not to participate in the protests. Despite these warnings, large crowd of protesters again appeared on the streets of Yangon on September 25, the last day of protests before the crackdown. That evening, the SPDC announced a nighttime curfew and began arresting some prominent figures who had supported the protesters, including the comedian Zargana.[35]

On September 26 and 27, the SPDC began their brutal suppression of the protests. The first serious attacks took place when riot police and army troops surrounded and attacked monks at the main Shwedagon Pagoda. When protesters moved to Sule Pagoda, some three kilometers away, they were again beaten and dispersed by the riot police and members of the Swan Arr Shin militia, who beat and detained many of the protesters. A separate group of protesters who were marching downtown were stopped by army troops and Swan Arr Shin militia near Thakin Mya Park in the western downtown area. Soldiers opened fire directly into the crowd. As the crowd fled they were blocked by army troops on Strand Road where more shooting occurred. Security forces raided monasteries throughout Yangon the nights of September 26–27. The most violent raid took place at the Ngwe Kyar Yan Monastery where security forces clashed violently with the monks.[36]

On the morning of September 27, army troops returned to the Ngwe Kyar Yan Monastery to arrest the remaining monks. When security forces were met with an angry crowd of residents a clash occurred and at least seven people

were killed. Around midday, a second clash took place around the Sule Pagoda, as soldiers, riot police, and the Swan Arr Shin militia dispersed a large crowd of protesters. It was here that scenes of Kenji Nagai, a Japanese video-journalist, being deliberately shot and killed were beamed around the world. Another deadly shooting took place at the Pansodan overpass when soldiers shot dead a student holding the "Fighting Peacock" flag of the '88 Generation student movement. On September 27, in a separate incident, troops surrounded marchers in front of Tamwe High School 3 and drove a military vehicle directly into the crowd, knocking down and killing three protesters. The soldiers then got out of the truck and opened fire on the fleeing crowd. Although thousands of people continued to try and organize protests on September 28 and 29, the SPDC eventually retook control of the streets by flooding Yangon with thousands of troops, riot police, and militia members.[37]

Power-Sharing Authoritarian Institutions

The PLA's brutal suppression of the pro-democracy movement raises several important questions: Why did the PLA initially side with the protestors, evident in the early days of martial law, but act eventually with such ruthlessness and decisiveness in putting down the popular protests in June 1989? How did the CCP prevail in its face-off with the demonstrations in Tiananmen Square despite evidence of intraparty tensions and the initial hesitance from the PLA to carry out the martial law orders? Likewise in Burma, why did the Burmese military act with such brutality in putting down the September 2007 protests? Why did the Saffron Revolt go the way of the failed August 1988 uprising?[38]

The answers to these questions lay in the nature of authoritarian rule in China and Burma. In the sections that follow, I illustrate the importance of power-sharing authoritarian institutions. In particular, I examine three facets—the role of ruling councils and collective leadership; hierarchies; and rules for the rotation of power, succession, and conflict resolution (table 5.1).

In China, I demonstrate that dictatorial rule under Deng Xiaoping had progressively devolved, with the adoption of rules for the sharing of power among the party and military elite. In other words, authoritarianism under Deng had become less personalistic, thus creating incentives, despite the popular challenge posed by the Tiananmen protests, that party and military elite would be better off remaining invested in the continuation of CCP rule. Even though intraparty tensions regarding the management of the Tiananmen pro-

Table 5.1. Power-sharing authoritarian rule in China (1989) and Burma (2007)

	Form of authoritarian institution	
	Single party (CCP)	Military regime (Tatmadaw)
Ruling councils and collective leadership	Politburo Standing Committee	State Law and Order Restoration Council State Peace and Development Council
Hierarchies	*Nomenklatura* system Central Military Commission and Party Central Military Commission	Authority devolved to regional commanders Law and Order Restoration councils Peace and Development councils
Rules for rotation of power, succession, and conflict resolution	Mandatory retirement policy Limited tenure Role of party elders	Conflict avoidance Spheres of influence Taking care of its own
Principal power relationships	Deng Xiaoping, CCP, PLA	Tatmadaw

tests in 1989 were palpable, for the party and military elite, it was better to "stick together than hang separately."

We observe a similar process with the institutionalization of military rule in Burma. In the period following the military's September 1988 coup, readily apparent are the mechanisms and rules the junta put in place to devolve power and to resolve disputes among its members.[39] The consequence then was that norms developed among the senior military leadership on what constituted acceptable behavior. This line of argumentation differs from the familiar characterization of authoritarian rule in Burma. Senior General Than Shwe, who resigned in 2011 as prime minister, the chairman of the State Peace and Development Council (SPDC), and commander in chief of the armed forces after spending close to two decades at the helm, has been compared to Marcos and Suharto in his wielding of wide discretionary authority within the junta.[40] The opposite was instead occurring, as institutions were gradually put in place to ensure the perpetuation of military rule in Burma. While tensions among the leading generals are evident from time to time, institutionalization of the junta created incentives for its leadership to "stick together in the end."[41]

This unity was evident, despite purges within the senior officer corps that have occurred since 1988 and also when popular challenges to the regime emerged, including the one the junta faced from the Buddhist monks in September 2007.

Ruling Councils and Collective Leadership
China

The Chinese political system is dominated by the omnipresent CCP, a highly hierarchical and bureaucratic organization dedicated to the perpetuation of its continued dominant political position in China.[42] The CCP penetrates all levels of the Chinese political structure. Each governmental organ, military unit, school, and state enterprise has, within its administrative structure, a party committee. These party committees report to their respective county- and provincial-level committees, and they in turn report to the Central Committee of the CCP.[43]

The Central Committee together with the Politburo and the Standing Committee are the leading bodies of the CCP.[44] While the Chinese constitution stipulates that the National People's Congress, the State Council, and the Supreme Court have the highest legislative, executive, and judicial power, respectively, in the country,[45] in reality, however, ultimate authority within the party and the state resides with the Politburo and its Standing Committee, with the party's general secretary (then Deng Xiaoping) as its leader.[46]

The political system Deng Xiaoping as party general secretary dominated in the late 1970s and 1980s differed from the Mao years. By the time of Mao's death, the institutions of "collective leadership" within the party and the government were eroded. Any that survived were operated by Mao's courtiers and run through Mao's personal authority rather than formal rules.[47] After Deng won the struggle to succeed Mao in 1980, he supervised an official appraisal of Mao's leadership. The Resolution on the Party History was adopted in 1981 and the document condemned Mao's leadership: "[We] failed to institutionalize and legalize inner-Party democracy . . . we drew up the relevant laws but they lacked due authority. This meant that conditions were present for the overconcentration of Party power in individuals and for the development of arbitrary individual rule and the personality cult in the Party."[48] In the same vein, in the revised 1982 constitution, party members were warned that "no party member, whatever his position, is allowed to stand above the law or . . . make decisions on major issues on his own."[49]

Adhering to the provisions of the new party constitution, key party bodies began meeting with "metronomic regularity."[50] The Politburo Standing Committee convened weekly; and since 1987, the full Politburo has held regular monthly assemblies. Formal procedures were also established such that the general secretary of the party reported work of the Politburo Standing Committee to the full Politburo, and the full Politburo's work to the party Central Committee.[51]

Formal institutions for "collective leadership" were actually in place under Mao. The Eighth Party Congress in 1956 had established the Politburo Standing Committee as the highest institution of "collective leadership" and assigned the party Secretariat and several "small leadership groups" the tasks of implementing the Politburo Standing Committee's decisions.[52] After 1959, key party bodies met only sporadically and, following the Cultural Revolution in 1966, most of these bodies became inconsequential.[53]

Mao circumvented the party institutions with his arbitrary exercise of power and the growing cult of personality (*geren chongbai*).[54] As is well documented elsewhere, Mao's rule had become increasingly despotic during and after the Great Leap Forward. He only trusted those in his inner circle—his administrative secretaries, personal guards, his physician, relatives, and mistresses—and cut off face-to-face contact with other leading party officials. Even those closest to Mao found themselves vulnerable to his whims and fancies. Mao's despotism was most apparent during the Cultural Revolution, when he placed several top party leaders under house arrest and permitted their public humiliation and torture.[55] Deng reflected on the personalization of power during the Mao years in 1980:

> The phenomenon of overconcentration of power is that under the slogan of strengthening the Party's unitary leadership, and inappropriately and without any analysis, all powers were centralized in the Party committee, and the power of the Party committee was in turn centralized in several secretaries, particularly in the first secretary, and everything had to be led and decided by the first secretary. The unitary leadership of the Party was therefore transformed into personal leadership.[56]

Burma

In Burma the political center of gravity is the Tatmadaw. The Tatmadaw is, in Linz and Stepan's characterization, a "hierarchical military" organization. In

such militaries, the officer corps, views itself as "a permanent part of the state apparatus, with enduring interests and permanent functions that transcend the interests of the government of the day." The bases of political power and status of the officer corps comes from "the existence of a functioning state apparatus."[57] In Burmese society the pervasive influence of the military permeates social life at all levels.

At the core of the Tatmadaw is the junta and its influence mirrors that of Standing Committee of Politburo. Comprised of senior military officers, it called itself the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC) after seizing power in the coup of September 1988. Following this putsch, SLORC suspended the 1974 constitution, took over full executive authority and the council became Burma's supreme governing body. At the start, SLORC was composed of twenty-one senior military officers, with most SLORC members also holding cabinet portfolios. In addition, a cabinet was appointed with ministers drawn entirely from the military. The size of the SLORC remained constant until about 1997 when the cabinet swelled to thirty-eight members, with an additional thirty-two deputy ministers.[58]

In November 1997 the junta gave itself a new political face, abolishing the SLORC and renaming themselves the State Peace and Development Council (SPDC). Ostensibly, the change to the SPDC was promoted as "a new structure with a new set of policies" and "to ensure the emergence of an orderly and democratic system and to establish a peaceful and modern state." From 1997 until its dissolution in March 2011, the name change brought about no significant policy changes, especially within Burma's government or military hierarchy. The most senior personnel in the SPDC remained the same, with Senior General Than Shwe at the helm, and Gen. Maung Aye serving as vice chairman and deputy commander in chief.[59]

Three executive bodies—the ruling council, the cabinet, and the armed forces—comprise the SPDC and separate the "military-as-government" from the "military-as-institution." With nineteen officers, the council was slightly smaller than the SLORC. This number included the senior general who retained his position as chairman, commander in chief of the Defense Services, and prime minister and defense minister. The SPDC vice chairman remained the deputy commander in chief of defense services and the commander in chief of the army. There were three SPDC secretaries (all of lieutenant general rank). The commander in chief of the navy and air force were both members of the

SPDC and concurrently deputy prime ministers. An army lieutenant general was the third deputy prime minister.[60]

Along with the SPDC came a new thirty-nine-member cabinet of ministries, of which just ten cabinet ministers were civilians. Apart from Senior General Than Shwe, none of the cabinet members is on the council. The cabinet was largely comprised of younger major generals and brigadiers who replaced fourteen former SLORC officials, most of whom were briefly assigned to a largely ceremonial so-called Advisory Board that was disbanded in December 1997.[61]

In the armed forces, military ranks were closely observed. Each of the armed services in the military had its own commander in chief and chief of staff. Since 1989, the army commander in chief has been elevated to full general rank and was concurrently the deputy commander in chief of the defense services. The commanders in chief of the air force and navy hold the equivalent of lieutenant general rank, while all three service chiefs of staff were raised to major general level.[62]

Hierarchy

China

The CCP oversees a hierarchical and regularized system of political control. Its main instrument is the *nomenklatura* system, which "consists of lists of leading positions, over which party units exercise the power to make appointments and dismissals; lists of reserves or candidates for these positions; and institutions and processes for making the appropriate personnel changes."[63] The nomenklatura system gives the CCP a principal say over all important political personnel decisions in China because the party controls the government, selects almost all government officials, and all top officials are themselves party members. In addition, in each government agency, party members are organized under a party committee that is subordinate to the party committee at the higher administrative level. The entire Chinese government apparatus is thus overlaid by a parallel hierarchy of party committees that enables party leaders to supervise party members in the government and lead the work of the government, not from outside.[64]

The nomenklatura system wields significant sway because there are immense advantages from being a CCP cadre. Benefits include employment for full-time party functionaries, to better promotion prospects within the government

bureaucracy and government-controlled enterprises, to privileged access to educational opportunities and social services such as child-care or public housing. The nomenklatura system provides rules for access to these perks as the lists of lucrative positions is based on a history of service within the party and a demonstrated loyalty to the regime. The lists contain positions within the party, the government, the military, state-controlled enterprises, and other entities such as universities and professional and civic associations.[65] Indeed, party cadres are not a uniform category. The most important distinction is that between leading cadres (*lingdao ganbu*), regular cadres (*yiban ganbu*), and nonleading cadres (*feilingdao ganbu*). This distinction is separate from party rank—many administrators or professionals in China may hold a high rank but do not hold leading party positions. In China leading CCP cadres occupy the strategic positions that would be held by elected politicians and political appointees in a democratic political system. Appointments to these leading positions and the careers of the cadres who occupy them are controlled by the Organization Department of the party's Central Committee (*Zuzhi Bu*) while careers of high-level nonleading cadres are managed by the Chinese government's Personnel Ministry or Bureau. Leading CCP cadre positions are controlled by the organization department at one level above the positions; by contrast, the government's Personnel Bureau controls positions and cadres at the same level. On the other hand, lower-level nonleading cadres are managed by the Personnel Dpartment of their work unit, and their career is normally confined to that unit.[66]

Like the civilian party components of the Chinese political system, there are procedures for coordination and action in the armed forces.[67] The PLA is directly subordinate to the Central Military Commission (CMC) of the CCP. In principle, there are two equal governing bodies, the State Central Military Commission and the party Central Military Commission.[68] In reality, however, these two institutions are one and the same with identical memberships. This is known in Chinese as *yi ge danwei, liang ge paizi*, meaning "one work unit with two titles."[69] The CMC (or *Zhongyang Junwei*) is the "nerve center" of the Chinese military system. It is the sole deliberative and decision-making body for all major military and strategic decisions that involve the PLA. The authority to deploy the PLA resides solely with the CMC.[70] The CMC controls the PLA's three main departments: the General Staff Department, the General Political Department, and the General Logistics Department.[71]

The CCP's control of the military is accomplished through a three-pronged system: the General Political Department with its departments and commis-

sars, the military party committee system, and the Central Discipline Inspection apparatus. This system permeates right through the armed forces, from the top echelons right down to the individual soldier.[72]

There are also procedures in the PLA to ensure effective coordination, communication, supervision, and consultation among all the PLA organs and between these organs and the senior leadership of the PLA. The CMC is central as it plays a vital role in coordinating relationships among the major organs of the armed forces. The CMC meets on a regular basis, at least once per month, and also meets in an enlarged session at least twice a year to discuss and ratify long-term defense plans, the budget, and other key aspects of defense policy. The enlarged meetings include senior members of the PLA regional commands as well as leaders of the noncore PLA organs at the center. In addition, the CMC might convene on an irregular basis as a "court of last resort" to resolve disputes occurring within the military affairs system, although the most serious of such disputes will be resolved by its executive committee.[73] The CMC is also the final authority on personnel decisions involving political commissars, senior officers commanding military regions, and command positions above these levels and their deputies.

The CCP and PLA are intertwined and have sustained each other's power for more than sixty years; there is no clear division between civilian and military elites and civilian-military elites do not subscribe to the norm that the military ought to be apolitical.[74] Military leaders have played significant roles in Chinese politics since the revolutionary period. As Perlmutter and Leo-Grande argue, "To speak of military 'intervention' is a misnomer; the military is a normal participant in politics in Communist systems."[75] In many respects, the PLA, like other communist militaries, are "almost without exception, politicized institutions which participate in politics more directly and unabashedly than the armed forces in any Western state."[76]

The roots of this civil-military integration lie in the long struggle for the People's Republic of China, when the party and the PLA were intertwined and the first generation of communist leaders performed both political and military functions. After the establishment of the communist regime in 1949, at the regime's apex, the distinction between the political-military roles of the top leaders remained blurred. Party and military leaders continued to regard themselves (and were also regarded) as leaders standing above parochial institutional concerns. These leaders, particularly those who were at the head of the party, saw it as natural and legitimate to cross the boundaries between the two

institutions. They did not view this as undue intervention as they had all been present at the creation of both party and military. Mao Zedong and Deng Xiaoping were examples of this civil-military integration. They were the republic's paramount leaders and the supreme and active commanders of the PLA. Their special standing enabled them to use the army as their power base. Mao knew that when it came to the crunch, he could rely on the unconditional support of the military. Deng also knew that he could rely on the military to back his reform policies, and other leaders were well aware of this special connection.[77] Others leaders who traversed the civil-military divide included Zhou Enlai, who managed the Chinese government from 1949 to 1976 but also had a parallel military career. Zhou had taken charge of the CCP's military affairs in 1927 and was the chief of the general staff during the most critical years of the revolutionary period (1947–48).[78]

This fusion of the military with the party helps preserve the preeminence of the CCP and its role as political vanguard. As Perlmutter and LeoGrande contend, the extent of party hegemony depends on how successfully the party exerts control over nonparty institutions. The principal mechanism through which the party maintains its paramount position as integrator and arbiter is the presence of dual-role elites. That is why in communist regimes, virtually every official of consequence is a party member, and at the apex of the political system, the overlap between senior party and nonparty leaders is always extensive. The party's position as the sovereign authority, combined with the party's strict institutional controls, assures that the first loyalty of these dual-role elites will almost always lie with the party. If loyalty is uncertain, the party acts quickly to remove the renegade official from his position. Serious contestations, whether personal, ideological, or bureaucratic must be resolved within the party and not between the party and nonparty institutions, or nonparty elites. Intra-elite conflicts must remain in the party, as once the party as a whole puts forth a resolution, elites must then carry party decisions (regarding the conflict) back to all affiliates, including the nonparty institutions, which must adhere to the position defined by the party. It is the absence of strict authority boundaries or elite boundaries between the party and nonparty institutions that coalesce the party system. Although such politics is bureaucratic in style, the system ensures a collective and collegial-style of decision making and dispute resolution. When a ruling communist party is not successfully performing such functions, the political system is almost always in a clear state of crisis.[79]

Burma

In Burma, the SLORC/SPDC's grip on power was premised on a hierarchical command structure that radiated outward from Yangon to other parts of the country. Political and military powers were devolved to regional and local commanders who had executive authority throughout Burma's seven states and seven divisions.[80] Following the upheavals of the 1988 uprising and a humiliating defeat suffered by the army-backed National Unity Party in the 1990 election, the junta gave regional commanders de facto authority in practically all local and provincial affairs. Regional commanders, acting on behalf of the junta, eliminated political dissent at the local levels, dismantled the old political party system, and created new administrative and economic arrangements. SLORC also asked regional commanders to build roads, develop housing and local markets, and resettle populations to accommodate tourism and other industries.[81] To help ensure the regional and local commanders were invested in the junta, their command positions were raised to the level of major general. With the formal demise of the Burma Socialist Programme Party (BSPP), these officers were also appointed chairmen of state- and division-level Law and Order Restoration Councils (LORCs).[82] With these responsibilities, military commanders were formally vested with both military and administrative responsibility for their command areas.[83]

The devolved authority also included a system of state-division, district, township, and ward-village Peace and Development Councils (PDCs), staffed by active-duty military officers. At these substate levels, lower-ranking civilian bureaucrats had to work with local PDCs to carry out orders from cabinet ministries and the junta in Yangon. Order throughout the country was enforced by locally based military commanders as well as the police under the purview of the Home Ministry, which also oversaw the major domestic intelligence agency, the Special Branch.[84] The division PDC was often chaired by the regional military commander and the district PDC by a lieutenant colonel. Only at the village level were civilians in charge.[85]

The SLORC/SPDC had to devolve power to local military commanders because the junta lacked the technical expertise and human resources necessary to run the entire country. Ardeth Maung Thawnghmung called the PDC system "prefectural," analogous to the British tradition of the generalist district officer who directly controlled all officials in their area of jurisdiction.[86] In SLORC/SPDC Burma central ministries and their related departments

needed the clearance of the state/divisional PDC to implement policies locally giving the PDCs significant executive power. Although the junta retained the ultimate authority to remove regional military commanders through the military chain of command, doing so was costly as whatever control the central government had over local affairs was exercised through them. Replacing these commanders would break up the informal accommodation and understanding officers had negotiated to make their regions run more smoothly. Those informal agreements constituted the junta's main point of access into Burmese society, short of outright coercion. The central government therefore granted local and regional commanders a great deal of latitude, even tolerating outright defiance in some cases.[87]

The hierarchical structure of Burmese military is also an important mechanism for the distribution of patronage. Membership in the armed forces provides officers and even those in the lower ranks, such as noncommissioned officers, a chance to buy valuable land at cheap prices; receive low-interest loans to launch businesses; and channel privileges, contracts, and resources toward private business people in exchange for substantial financial rewards.[88] Being in the Tatmadaw promises a career, an education, social status, and access to services denied to the general population. There are special schools and hospitals for those in the military and their dependents. Military personnel live in secluded, subsidized housing and have access to goods and services not available in typical stores. The holder of an army pass is assured a seat on a train or an airplane, and a policeman would never dare to report him or her for violating traffic rules.

All these privileges are possible because the Tatmadaw exercises near absolute control over the country's natural resources and the formal sector through its control over the ministries and conglomerates. Political positions in the country's upper echelon, from officers to cabinet ministers and regional commanders, are sources of vast economic opportunities, patronage, and licenses. These licenses include those for the exploitation of natural resources, for the import and export trade, and government construction projects, including the construction of hotels, tourist resorts, and the new airport in the capital Naypyidaw. They are doled out to family members, loyal friends, and cronies. This system has created a class of nouveau riche whose fortunes are bound to military patrons.[89]

Military officers in Burma therefore enjoy unprecedented luxury by Burmese standards, with more than ample opportunities for wealth and status accumulation. Since seizing power in 1988, large numbers of officers have become visible public figures—they frequently show off their high status,

driving around in expensive cars, eating at expensive restaurants, promoting their children in business or educational sectors, providing largesse to monks and pagodas, and inscribing their names on donation plaques at religious tourist sites.[90] Evidence of the Tatmadaw's ubiquity in Burma's economy include the commencement of large, ostentatious infrastructure projects such as oil pipelines, microwave stations, universities, and hydroelectric dams; an increase in the number of road toll gates, the proceeds of which benefit army units, local Union Solidarity Development Association (USDA) groups, and line ministries. Also benefiting the Tatmadaw are increases in the amount of business license fees and levies on all civilians, most of which are payable either directly to military units or indirectly channel some of the money to the Tatmadaw through USDA; direct army ownership of plantations and agricultural land where nearby villagers are expected to "donate" their labor; and an increase in pressure on farmers to expand areas of cultivation or plant crops, defined by the armed forces as national priorities. Commanding officers, who oversee these economic activities, have access to a wide range of daily rent-seeking opportunities, which they can take advantage of for themselves, their directorate or command, or their families and friends.[91]

At the subnational level, with the delegation of the administration of the Tatmadaw's organizational behemoth to the regional commanders, these commanders have also amassed enormous wealth and power when they "supervise" the construction of roads, housing suburbs, and markets. For officers posted to the commands flanking Burma's borders with China and Thailand, opportunities from the formal and informal trade, investment, and transport and border crossings with these two countries provide ample opportunities for personal and institutional enrichment.[92]

Rules for Succession, Rotation of Power, and Conflict Resolution

China

One key institutional reform Deng Xiaoping undertook from the late 1970s to the 1980s was to regularize succession and the rotation of political offices in the CCP. Deng did it in several steps: first, as a symbolic gesture of departure from Mao's personalistic leadership style, the revised party constitution of 1982 abolished the post of party chairman that Mao held, and Deng himself avoided a titular confirmation of his powers by replacing the post with that of general secretary.[93] Second, the newly revised Constitution of the People's Republic of

China prohibited officials from serving concurrently in more than one leadership post.[94] The constitution also adopted a mandatory retirement age at various levels of the government hierarchy and limited tenure at top government posts, including the posts of the presidency, premier, and chairman of the National People's Congress, to two consecutive five-year terms. At the same time, informal norms, analogous to term limits and retirement-age provisions, applied to members of key party bodies.[95]

This retirement policy was intended to replace old revolutionaries with younger cadres whom Deng viewed as better qualified to manage his drive for economic growth and modernization. It was not simply an ad-hoc move to deal with the Maoists in the CCP but a longer-term policy to regularize or systematize (*zhiduhua*) the retirement process of cadres.[96] An important lesson Deng learned from the Cultural Revolution was that the introduction of mandatory retirement stabilized the political system. Previously, many ambitious and capable officials had their paths to higher positions blocked by the first-generation revolutionaries occupying those offices. Mandatory retirement reduced the uncertainty of upward mobility and lessened cadre incentives to resort to other means for political advancement. Another unanticipated benefit of the mandatory retirement system is the strengthening of the National People's Congress and the Political Consultative Conference (PCC). Retired CCP and government officials were eased into positions in the National People's Congress and the PCC.[97]

Deng was committed to greater regularization and institutionalization of the CCP largely because his position as paramount leader never rivaled that of Mao's.[98] This is not to suggest that with the increasing institutionalization of the CCP under Deng, informal (noninstitutionalized) forms of politics were unimportant or absent during this period.[99] Mao was primus inter pares in Chinese politics but not Deng. Deng's political comeback in 1977 was only made possible with the support of the old generation of party veterans, called the Elders. The influence of the Elders in high-level decision making depended not on their formal positions in CCP hierarchy but on their personal stature as revolutionaries. During the Deng years, party Elders participated in decision making in enlarged meetings of the Political Bureau and the Central Committee. Susan Shirk also notes the pivotal role the party Elders played in handling three power successions during the Deng era. The plan to fire Hua Guofeng as party chairman and to replace him with Hu Yaobang as general secretary was first made by a series of informal discussions among the Elders

and then became a decision in a Political Bureau meeting. The decision to oust Hu Yaobang was made first by an enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau that included members of the Central Advisory Commission, two members of the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection, and two other senior leaders, along with the eighteen members and two alternative members of the Political Bureau. And later as we shall see in 1989 during the Tiananmen crisis, the decision to oust Zhao Ziyang was made in a series of enlarged meetings of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau and the Political Bureau.[100]

The role of the party Elders notwithstanding, a clear case can still be made for the greater regularization of single-party authoritarian rule in China under Deng in contrast to the Mao years. In many respects, the political reforms in China in the late 1970s and 1980s mirror Juan Linz and Alfred Stepan's conceptualization of post-totalitarianism. In contrast to Linz's original view of authoritarianism, Linz and Stepan suggest that under post-totalitarianism, governance tends to be bureaucratic and state technocratic. The elite in these contexts desire to reduce absolute discretion by tying their leaders to some form of rules that delineate reasonably predictable limits to powers. We see the CCP under Deng Xiaoping mirroring the process Eastern Europe's former communist parties underwent in which the post-totalitarian leadership was recruited from the party membership (via the nomenklatura system), many of whom developed their careers within the party organization, the bureaucracy, or the technocratic apparatus of the state.[101]

Burma

The Tatmadaw established procedures through which midlevel officers could be promoted to senior positions either within the military or in the civilian parts of the government.[102] The main criterion to move up the military hierarchy, especially for midlevel officers, was the completion of a master's degree at the National Defense College. How the officers fared in their class at the National Defense College was one of the things senior officers considered for promotion.[103] In the past fifteen years, midlevel officers who moved into senior positions were the ones who did well at the National Defense College and performed their assigned duties (such as development work in local areas, or military operations or dealing with the political opposition), effectively. Connections with senior officers, however, were important for the officers who failed in their assigned military duties. A well-connected officer, especially one who had a close relative in the senior officer corps, could get a second chance to

prove himself if he failed the first time round. A junior ranking officer could not get promoted based solely on his personal ties to well-connected senior officers. The common belief or expectation among midlevel officers was that if they worked hard and carried out their assigned duties diligently, the officer would eventually get to know his senior officers well and earn the chance to win their trust. He then would be able to convince the officer's superiors that he was both trustworthy and capable of completing their assigned duties.[104]

That senior officers in the Tatmadaw could intervene on behalf of junior-ranked officers suggests that the Burmese military government was by no means a single unified command structure. Instead, it may be more appropriate to think of the Tatmadaw as a collection of competing networks of patronage and influence. The senior officers of the junta depended on these up-and-coming officers for their own power, for without them, the generals would be helpless in a competition with the others. In other words, the political influence of a given general depended on his ability to secure the appointment of his people to offices of influence and wealth. Also the networks by themselves are neither wholly hierarchical nor perfectly unified and instead resembled more closely the multiple layers of a feudal system—senior officers parlayed their influence on certain subordinates, who in turn developed their own networks of followers, who consequently owed their immediate loyalty to the leaders who appointed them.[105]

Nonetheless, within these competing patronage networks were a set of rules, delimiting acceptable forms of competition. The first rule within the junta was to minimize the negative impact of their differences. This was done by confining their activities to the domains assigned to them by their superiors so as not to encroach into the sphere of influence of their rivals. If this rule was violated, senior military officials would intervene to stop it, often by purging the transgressor from the junta.

Kyaw Yin Hlaing notes that tenet of not encroaching into a rival's sphere of influence was fairly well-established. There were many prior cases from which Tatmadaw leaders could draw from for consequences if this rule was violated. Between 1962 and 1985, more than forty State Council members and ministers were dismissed or forced to retire for pursuing activities that antagonized fellow senior officials. From these cases, it was clear that as part of the ruling elite, you were better off if you adopted a nonthreatening posture and abstained from socializing or associating with "ambitious trouble-makers." A retired official from that period said in an interview to Kyaw:

> It was like a cultural norm we all abided by. Nobody wanted to be seen as a trouble-maker, so we all tried to do what we were asked to do. We tried not to have problems with any of our colleagues. If we fought with one another, we would be viewed as trouble-makers. Once we became trouble-makers in the eyes of our superiors . . . we would not get promoted to important positions.[106]

This rule of conflict avoidance and regard for one's sphere of influence was evident in the SLORC as well. As detailed earlier, regional commanders enjoyed tremendous leeway in administering their respective regions, and many senior officers ran agencies they were assigned to like private business corporations. In the mid-1990s, however, there were concerns within the junta that regional commanders had become too independent and their behavior was having a negative impact on the ruling council. Then newly promoted chairman of the military council, Than Shwe, was purportedly concerned that if nothing was done to restrain the freewheeling manner of these senior officers, he would not be able to control them should they start doing things that undermined the stability of the junta. Teaming up with vice chairman Maung Aye, Secretary I Khin Nyunt, and Secretary II Tin Oo, Than Shwe dismissed purged several regional commanders, forced others to retire and promoted those aligned with him.[107]

The second rule within the junta was the tradition of taking care of its own. The Tatmadaw leadership made sure that its members who did not turn their backs on the armed forces were taken good care of even after retiring; these retired officers received pensions for all the positions they had held when they were in government. Those who contravened established junta practices, ruined the reputation of the armed forces, or tried to break up the Tatmadaw were expelled. In some instances, the senior military leadership even went to the extent of punishing the recalcitrant officers' families so that they did not even receive the assistance or rights ordinary citizens enjoyed.[108] In the words of a retired government official:

> If my former colleagues felt that I was no longer loyal to the Tatmadaw, I could get into trouble. That is why most smart officials would not do anything that would cost them their jobs. By being a part of the government, they have power and many special privileges. When senior military officers got sick, the government would typically send them to Singapore for medical treatment. That's why all military officers have to try to do the things that will strengthen the organization they represent and avoid doing things that will undermine their organization.[109]

Power-Sharing Institutions at Work

The ultimate test of these power-sharing institutions would be the elites' response when the regime is under challenge. In China and Burma, we observe the resilience of these institutions during the Tiananmen protests and the Saffron Revolt. In both instances, the ruling elite closed ranks and worked to ensure coherence within the governing coalition by purging wavering members of the elite.

China

The Initial Struggle within the Politburo Standing Committee

The resilience of the Deng-era authoritarian setup was put to the test when the 1989 Tiananmen protests erupted. The Politburo Standing Committee (PBSC) was divided on how to deal with the protestors.[110] The hard-liners who favored a forceful response to quell the Tiananmen demonstrations were Premier Li Peng and Yao Yilin, the vice premier, while Zhao Ziyang, the party general secretary, and Hu Qili, secretary of the PBSC Central Secretariat, preferred to negotiate with the students. Qiao Shi, the party security chief, stood between the two camps.[111]

Zhao Ziyang consistently sought to negotiate with the students in order to quell the demonstrations. The moment the protests erupted after Hu Yaobang's death, Zhao suggested that CCP members and leaders go out and "mingle with the students and do political work" on their thinking (i.e., influence the students and to get a sense of their thinking).[112] Qiao Shi was another PBSC member who supported Zhao, and he made clear that maintaining "the growing democratic atmosphere in society" was an important goal in managing the demonstrations. He also advocated more dialogue with them while establishing clear political boundaries about behavior.[113]

In mid-May, as the protests intensified, at a meeting in Deng Xiaoping's residence Zhao reiterated his stance on pursuing "multilevel, multichannel dialogue" with the protestors to "build understanding." In doing so, Zhao believed the PBSC could win over the "majority of students and intellectuals while isolating the tiny minority of anti-communist troublemakers."[114] Zhao tried to convince Deng that the CCP "needed to adjust to new times and situations" and to "use the methods of democracy and law to solve actual problems." So "while things might look 'chaotic' on the surface," these "little 'troubles' are normal in-

side a democratic and legal framework," and "actually make for stability and peace in the long run."[115]

On the other hand, the hard-liners led by Li Peng called for tougher measures against the protestors. He was also instrumental in establishing the view that Zhao Ziyang was aggravating the situation and ought to be repudiated by the CCP. For example, at a joint meeting of the CMC and PBSC on May 18, Li Peng accused Zhao of encouraging the students from the outset:

> When he [Zhao] got back from North Korea, he came out with his May Fourth speech at the Asian Development Bank without clearing it with anyone else on the Standing Committee. . . . It was obvious that Comrade Zhao Ziyang's opinions were different from Comrade Xiaoping's and those of the majority of comrades. . . . The student movement escalated after his Asian Development Bank speech, and now we have a million people in the streets every day, and more coming in from outside Beijing . . . we completely supported the implementation of martial law in Beijing.[116]

The gulf within the PBSC was evident when they voted on May 17 to decide if martial law should be imposed in Beijing. There was a stalemate—of the five members, Zhao Ziyang and Hu Qili, voted against martial law, Li Peng and Yao Yilin for; Qiao Shi abstained. Zhao Ziyang also offered his resignation as party general secretary during this vote, stating that he could not "continue to serve" as his "view of the nature of the student movement differs from those of Comrade Xiaoping" and from those of the PBSC.[117]

Circling the Wagons

On May 18, Deng, the party Elders (Chen Yun, Li Xiannian, Peng Zhen, Deng Yingchao, Yang Shangkun, Bo Yibo, and Wang Zhen), and the hard-liners within the PBSC decided that rather than allow Zhao's approach to splinter the party, "everyone would be better off if all factions remain united and in office."[118] Deng summarized the united front thinking in the following manner:

> We have to have martial law . . . we've never faced this kind of thing before: a small handful infiltrating into such a huge number of students and masses . . . they want to overthrow our state and overthrow our Party—that's what's really going on here. If you don't see this point, you can't be clear about what's going on. If you do see it, then you'll know why we need martial law in Beijing.[119]

Zhao paid a severe price for his conciliatory approach toward the protestors soon thereafter. The CCP decided it could no longer have Zhao at the helm and appointed Jiang Zemin as party general secretary.[120] Zhao's rapidly declining political position was evident at a high-level meeting that was convened on May 22. Members of the PBSC, secretaries from the Central Committee Secretariat, vice chairmen of the National People's Congress Standing Committee, vice premiers and members of the State Council, vice chairmen of the party Central Committee holding party memberships, and members of the CMC were in attendance.[121] At this meeting, Li Peng berated Zhao for being a divisive force in the party and for challenging Deng Xiaoping:

> Who is the key leader of our party and who represents reform and opening up? Is it Comrade Ziyang or Comrade Xiaoping? On this count, all people must keep a clear head. All major principles and policies have been put forward by Comrade Xiaoping since reform was conducted ten years ago. Comrade Xiaoping is the general designer of the reform and the open policies. . . . If we want to uphold Party unity and the unity of the Party nucleus, I think we should defend Xiaoping with a clear-cut stand. . . .
>
> The Standing Committee decided to hold the meeting and to impose martial law. Comrade Xiaoping should have attended the meeting if he wanted to uphold Party unity. But he asked for sick leave. As General-Secretary, it was all right for him not to speak if he did not feel well, but he should have been able to preside over the meeting, which he did not do. It was all right for another person to preside over the meeting instead, but he should have attended the meeting. However, he didn't want to do this either. Who has disrupted Party unity and who has sabotaged the Party principle of democratic centralism? His speeches, including the one he gave when he called on the students at Tiananmen in the small hours of May 19, have laid bare to the people of the whole country the differences of opinion within the Party.[122]

On May 24, at yet another enlarged session of the Politburo, Zhao Ziyang's dismissal from the PBSC was agreed on. The reason given was Zhao's failure to support the April 26 *People's Daily* editorial, an act that, according to Deng Xiaoping, had sown confusion within the party and split the party leadership into "two headquarters." Yang Shangkun affirmed the party's opinions of Zhao's actions at an emergency meeting of the CMC two days later. He asserted that Zhao had served to split the party and compared the behavior of the Zhao-

supported Beijing student movement with the anarchistic behavior of China's Gang of Four–inspired Red Guards during the Cultural Revolution.[123]

With Zhao out of the picture, Deng, with the support of the party elders and the remaining members of the PBSC, moved to "put a quick end to the turmoil and restore order in the capital."[124] In the words of Li Peng, the approach the "Zhao-less" PBSC eventually agreed on was to "clear Tiananmen Square" and "resolutely put an end to the turmoil and ever expanding trouble."[125]

The party's collective decision-making process prevailed in the end. At the enlarged meeting of the Politburo from June 19–21, 1989, Zhao Ziyang's purge was formalized. Li Peng, representing the PBSC, set the tone of the proceedings when he accused Zhao of committing serious errors in "splitting the party" and "supporting turmoil." Central Committee meetings were subsequently held from June 23–24 to pass judgment on the indictments against Zhao. Abandoning the typical voting procedure, the poll was conducted by a show of hands. The resolutions to strip Zhao of his positions as party general secretary and of his positions on the Politburo, Standing Committee, and the Central Committee, were passed unanimously.[126] Hu Qili was reprimanded for supporting the wrong side at the critical moment but was spared further disciplinary action. Two other erstwhile Zhao loyalists, Yan Mingfu and Rui Xingwen, were also dismissed from the party's Central Secretariat.[127]

The Party Commands the Gun . . . and the Gun Must Never Be Allowed to Command the Party

Within the CMC, only executive vice chairman, Zhao Ziyang, balked at the party's decision to impose martial law and forcefully clear out the Tiananmen Square protestors. The other CMC members played key roles in coordinating martial law and the subsequent military action into the square. Liu Huaqing and Chi Haotian headed the martial law command center in May 1989. Chi Haotian met with the commanding officers of the Beijing, Shenyang, and Jinan Military districts to confirm a list of every group army division scheduled to advance into Beijing and their exact times of departure and arrival. Yang Baibing issued the martial law political mobilization decree in the name of the PLA General Political Department to all major military districts, ordering "all districts enforce strict discipline at this critical moment for the party and state." Zhao Nanqi readied "all strategic materials and provisions for combat readiness" and worked with the Beijing Municipal Committee to coordinate food, lodging, and supplies for the PLA troops.[128]

At a meeting of the Politburo Standing Committee on May 18, Liu Huaqing, Qin Jiwei, and Hong Xuezhi stated unequivocally their support for martial law. Liu described the situation in Beijing as "severe anarchy" and emphasized, "We have to restore order in Beijing, and let Beijing then be a model for the whole country. That's the only way the rest of the country is going to calm down. I resolutely support Comrade Deng Xiaoping's decision to put a portion of the districts of Beijing under martial law."[129] Hong Xuezhi, in response to Liu's call, said that as a PLA officer, his duty was "paramount" and that he would "resolutely carry out the order to put Beijing under martial law.[130] Qin Jiwei likewise supported Liu and Hong's assessment of the situation in Beijing:

> Obvious anarchy has already appeared in Beijing. . . . Everybody is demonstrating no one is producing—this is scary! The reasons for martial law are to restore order, to clean up the confusion, and to avoid major turmoil. I resolutely support and will resolutely carry out the orders of Party Central and the Military Affairs Commission [i.e., CMC] for martial law in Beijing.[131]

Yang Shangkun was the most important player in coordinating the PLA actions from May to June 1989. He was the first in the CMC to receive updates on the status of PLA actions on the ground.[132] Yang, together with Liu Huaqing, issued the Martial Law decree to Beijing residents on May 21. On May 29, at a meeting of the CMC, Yang said that he and the party elders "were worried" that the "situation had developed to such an extent" where there were "two different voices in the Standing Committee of the Politburo." The party octogenarians intervened to break the impasse within the PBSC to prevent "the collapse of the PRC" and a "comeback for capitalism, just as former U.S. Secretary of State Dulles . . . had hoped."[133] Yang gave the final operational go-ahead to the respective PLA units on June 3 to enter into Tiananmen Square.[134]

The military's reluctance to impose martial law in May 1989 can be attributed to the contestations within the CCP. Military leaders were uncertain what the party's official position was so long as the party leadership remained in conflict and were unwilling to become pawns in the factional struggle within the PBSC.[135] Only when Deng unambiguously confirmed to military leaders that he was firmly in control did virtually all commanders and commissars unequivocally comply with orders to suppress the Tiananmen protests.[136] The Central Intelligence Agency's report of August 1989 corroborates this assertion. In the CIA's analysis, the PLA's hesitation to impose martial law was due to intra-Politburo conflict. In particular, the PLA was concerned that "the

martial law declaration was a ploy by Premier Li Peng and President Yang Shangkun to stage a coup against General Secretary Zhao Ziyang." The PLA was also uncertain about the "outcome of the struggle between Zhao and Deng Xiaoping." PLA commanders "withheld their support until it became clear that Deng would retain control." It was only after this contestation was sorted that the "crackdown was implemented."[137]

If there were major divisions within the PLA about the implementation of martial law and the decision to forcefully suppress the Tiananmen protests, one would expect to observe major purges of PLA officials, especially in the upper echelons, after the June 1989 incident. This did not occur. In the three months following the June 1989 crackdown, the Discipline Inspection Commissions, together with the General Political Departments within the PLA, reported that half of the "leadership groups [i.e., officers] at or above division level" had been investigated. But this investigation found that 92 percent of the units involved in the June 1989 operations had shown "good party style and discipline."[138] According to Gen. Yang Baibing, director of the PLA's GPD, out of the 150,000 to 350,000 troops who were involved in the operations, only 110 officers and 1,400 soldiers refused orders or left their posts during the crisis. This constituted only 0.5 to 1 percent of the total military participants in June 1989.[139] After these investigations, very few officers were actually punished for their activities in support of the protests, beyond receiving cursory reprimands.[140]

Moreover, in contrast to the purges that occurred within the PLA leadership during the Cultural Revolution, none followed the Tiananmen incident.[141] For instance, the much-touted purge of the defense minister, Gen. Qin Jiwei, who was slow to announce his support for martial law, never occurred. Also, the rotation of regional commanders in 1990 appeared to be guided by professional concerns rather than sanctions against PLA officers for dereliction of duties during the Tiananmen crisis.[142]

Deng Xiaoping's televised public appearance on June 9 brought finality to the Tiananmen crackdown. In a show of consensus in the party, and their collective decision-making process, Deng attended this meeting with virtually the entire Chinese civilian and military high commands, sans Zhao Ziyang and Hu Qili. He praised the PLA for their actions, defended the CCP's reform policies, and argued that the rebellion had been the inevitable result of party leaders permitting the global climate of bourgeois liberalization to spread unchecked within China.[143]

Burma

Like China, the Tatmadaw deftly managed dissent and tension within their ranks throughout their more than two-decade rule. I first discuss the rise of and fall of Lt. Gen Khin Nyunt and also other purges within the Tatmadaw to illustrate power-sharing at work within the junta.

The Purge of Khin Nyunt

Khin Nyunt was Secretary 1 of the SPDC, the third-highest-ranking military officer in the junta. Khin Nyunt's ascent was attributable to Ne Win, who headed the military junta until 1988. Unlike others in the junta, Khin Nyunt rose up in the military hierarchy without having combat experience or serving as a divisional or regional commander. As a result, many within the senior military leadership were wary of him. Ne Win's health started to decline in 2001, and so did his influence within the junta. Ne Win was put under house arrest after his daughter and grandsons were accused of plotting a coup attempt in 2002. He passed away in late 2002. With Ne Win's death, Khin Nyunt's position became tenuous.[144]

Khin Nyunt's sphere of influence was Military Intelligence (MI). Although the MI was technically under the army, the organization acted like the fourth branch of the armed forces. Local MI officers reported directly to military headquarters, bypassing the regional commanders. Khin Nyunt and the MI controlled all the intelligence agencies in the country, including the civilian apparatuses. With this influence in the intelligence services, Khin Nyunt and the MI had a record of all the activities of the senior leadership, including those involving corruption and other abuses of power.[145] This growing power of Khin Nyunt and the MI began to threaten the interests of senior military figures and, more important, the unity of the Tatmadaw.[146]

MI officers were often described as bullying, overbearing, arrogant, and corrupt. Corruption among the intelligence corps was rife, especially among those assigned to local and border areas, as they would often use the information they obtained to solicit bribes from illegitimate businesses. The abuse of power by local intelligence officers increased in the early 2000s. The commanders of intelligence battalion units often acted as if they were as powerful as regional commanders. Similarly, lower-ranking intelligence officers often did not pay proper respect to higher-ranking military officers. Intelligence officers reportedly did not give intelligence clearance to officers they disliked.[147]

Junta members also resented Khin Nyunt because he was increasingly being portrayed, regionally and internationally, as the regime's key figure, whose "road map" for political reform deserved support. Indeed, Khin Nyunt gained widespread praise as the junta's only moderate or pragmatic figure willing to begin discussions involving Aung San Suu Kyi and the NLD with a view toward political reconciliation. The junta disagreed with these overtures and suspected Khin Nyunt had planned to survive this "road map" to democratization by setting up his own political party.[148]

When a clash between intelligence and army units occurred in the northeastern city of Muse on the Sino-Burmese border in September 2004, the senior Tatmadaw leadership concluded that Khin Nyunt's intelligence corps had overstepped their boundaries. The incident at Muse started when a regional commander received a letter of complaint from a civilian bureaucrat about corruption along the Sino-Burmese border. The regional commander sent the tactical commander and a military unit to investigate the issue. MI officers from the border checkpoint, however, refused to allow the investigating team into the district to conduct their inquiry. An exchange of fire between intelligence officers and the tactical commander and his soldiers ensued. The junta's senior military officers, especially its two top leaders, Than Shwe and Maung Aye, were infuriated with the turn of events.[149]

As head of the junta, Than Shwe tasked Khin Nyunt to take disciplinary action against the intelligence officers responsible for the incident at Muse. When this involved dismissing the intelligence officers involved in the Muse shooting, Khin Nyunt refused to do so. Khin Nyunt's decision to protect his officers and ensure his men would continue to dominate the intelligence apparatus was the likely motivation for his intransigence. In an attempt to preserve the continued autonomy of MI, Khin Nyunt subsequently called a secret meeting with his close aides and ordered them to uncover information on the corrupt activities of regional commanders. Khin Nyunt's ostensible plan was to submit the information to the senior leadership of the junta, to convince the junta that his men were not the only ones who were corrupt.[150]

In refusing the junta's directives to dismiss MI officers and in calling the secret meeting of the MI, Khin Nyunt violated the established rules of the Tatmadaw. By protecting the MI officers, Khin Nyunt had allowed his subordinates to encroach into the domains of other senior officers. For calling the secret meeting without the permission of the junta, Khin Nyunt's actions were tantamount to mutiny and threatened to cause instability within the

regime. And although Khin Nyunt ran an effective intelligence setup within Burma, his actions were threatening the internal unity of the Tatmadaw.[151]

In October 2004, Than Shwe replaced Khin Nyunt with Lt. Gen. Soe Win. Subsequently, Thura Shwe Mann, the third highest ranking official in the SPDC, charged Khin Nyunt with corruption, insubordination, and attempting to break up the Tatmadaw. The corruption charge was based on Khin Nyunt's decision to allocate a large amount of the financial assistance provided by the Thai government to Bagan Cyber Tech, a firm jointly run by the MI and a company owned by his son, Ye Naing Win.

With this justification, the junta detained Khin Nyunt and other senior MI officers. In mid-December 2004, the junta dismissed other members of the intelligence corps and many former intelligence officers who were assigned to civilian government agencies. These MI officers, including Khin Nyunt, were eventually sentenced to long prison terms. Khin Nyunt's jail term was eventually commuted to house arrest. The junta also disbanded the MI structure which Khin Nyunt led. The Military Affairs Security (MAS) was established in its place. Military intelligence units were reorganized and moved under the control of regional commanders. MI units were no longer under a separate directorate within the military.[152]

Other Purges

Khin Nyunt's purge and the dismantling of his intelligence apparatus in 2004 occurred without much resistance in the Tatmadaw.[153] Yet Khin Nyunt's expulsion from the junta was not the only such occurrence under the SLORC/SPDC. There were other significant purges and instances where senior officers were denied promotions, greater status, and opportunities for patronage and spoils. Senior officers were also "aged out" when the junta enforced age limits for serving military personnel. But none of these actions have ever resulted in a split that destabilized the junta, demonstrating the efficacy of the power-sharing, rules-based institutions of the Tatmadaw.

Consider the SLORC's clearing out of the regional commanders in the 1990s. As noted earlier, the devolvement of power in the late 1980s and early 1990s gave regional commanders tremendous political and economic authority in the local areas. Eventually many of these officers began operating like warlords. Many of these regional commanders were among the founders of the SLORC and contemporaries of the leadership, including Senior General Than Shwe.

Among the first-generation regional commanders of the SLORC were three popular and ambitious commanders, Lt. Gen. Tun Kyi, Lt. Gen. Kyaw Ba, and Lt. Gen. Myint Aung, who were seen by the officers in Yangon as challengers to their power. Senior officers in Yangon made several attempts to assert central control over the regional commands. In 1995, almost all first-generation regional commanders were reassigned as ministers in the cabinet. Ministers have less power than regional commanders because they do not have direct control of troops. As a compromise, these regional commanders retained their positions in the SLORC. In their place, second and third generations of regional commanders were promoted but these officers were not included in the SLORC. In 1997, the first-generation regional commanders of the SLORC were removed from the body. Tun Kyi, Kyaw Ba, and Myint Aung were charged with corruption and placed under house arrest. In the mid-1990s, two new regional commands (coastal and triangle) and more than a dozen new divisions (regional operation commands and military operation commands) were created to attenuate the authority of the regional commanders.[154]

After the first-generation regional commanders were purged, the junta successfully engineered the removal of the second-generation of regional commanders. Lieutenant General Win Myint, the fourth-highest ranking officer and secretary-3 of the SPDC, and Lt. Gen. Tin Hla, the deputy prime minister and military affairs minister, were sacked in late 2001. Win Myint and Tin Hla were accused of involvement in corruption and placed under house arrest. Their positions in the junta were not filled again. Meanwhile, the junta reshuffled the regional commands to reduce the power of the third (outgoing) and fourth (incoming) generation regional commanders at the same time. Like those in the first-generation, the outgoing third-generation regional commanders were "promoted" to become SPDC members and relieved of their command of troops. These officers were given staff duties and some were made chiefs in the Bureau of Special Operations (BSO), which nominally supervised the regional commands.[155]

About a year after the failed Saffron Revolt, in June 2008, another major shake-up occurred within the armed forces. As with previous command changes and purges, this reshuffle took place without incident. In this instance, as many as 150 military officers were reassigned. Powerful regional commanders were dismissed or designated for new government posts in 2010. Some brigadier generals were also promoted from jobs as rectors of military academies to positions as powerful regional military commanders.[156]

The reshuffling of senior military officers has been a common occurrence throughout the more than two-decade rule of the SLORC/SPDC. Many of these personnel changes have involved the expulsion of the powerful military officers. That these aforementioned purges and command changes occurred without any threat of fissure to the military junta is evidence of the resilience of the military regime's rules and institutions for power sharing.

Conclusion

The PLA's crackdown of popular protests in Tiananmen Square in June 1989 was the first massacre of unarmed civilians that was broadcast in detail to a large international audience by the media. There was widespread international criticism of the CCP's decision to unleash the PLA on to the demonstrations, particularly from Western governments. There was a significant impact on the Chinese economy after the incident as foreign direct investment commitments were cancelled and the World Bank, Asian Development Bank, and other foreign governments suspended foreign loans to China. But despite these economic setbacks and the challenge from within the PBSC during the Tiananmen crisis, the CCP survived and continues to lead China.

Similarly in Burma, when scenes of Buddhist monks standing up to the repressive military regime were beamed throughout the world, there was an initial euphoria that the Saffron Revolt would turn out the same way the peaceful "Color Revolutions" of Eastern Europe had. Anticipation soon gave way to resignation as the Saffron Revolt and the subsequent crackdown became reminiscent of the failed democracy movement in August 1988 (table 5.2).

The two armed forces' response to the popular protests as I have suggested in this chapter, lay in the institutions of authoritarian rule in Burma and

Table 5.2. Key findings

	China, 1989	Burma, 2007
Form of authoritarian institution	Single party	Military regime
Military defection	No. PLA backed CCP	No Military backed junta
Pact	No	No
Outcome of popular revolt	Demonstrations fail. Authoritarian rule persists.	Demonstrations fail. Authoritarian rule persists.

China. The CCP, with its rules and mechanisms in place for power sharing, has created incentives for the ruling elite and those in the PLA to remain invested in the continuation of the single-party rule in China. And in the analysis of the Tatmadaw in Burma, we see that military juntas can be as resilient as single-party regimes. Like single-party dictatorial regimes, the keys to the resilience of military regimes are institutions for power sharing and rules to guide the behavior of the elite within the armed forces.

CHAPTER SIX

Thinking Comparatively

The Military and People Power Revolts

Revisiting the Argument

Ferdinand E. Marcos remains the longest-serving president in the history of the Philippines. He was in office for twenty-one years, far outserving his predecessors by more than fivefold.[1] Similarly in Indonesia, President Suharto led the country for thirty-three years, helming the country far longer than his predecessor, the country's founding president, Sukarno (1945–65). Yet these two lengthy dictatorships crumbled when popular protests emerged against their rule. Contrast the Marcos and Suharto dictatorships with the single-party regime in China and the military junta in Burma. The Chinese Communist Party has ruled uninterrupted since 1949 and withstood a serious challenge to its rule during the Tiananmen protests of 1989. Similarly, the Tatmadaw retains an iron grip on Burma, easily dealing with the most recent popular challenge to military rule when the Buddhist monks led protests in 2007. What explains the variation in the outcomes of these popular demonstrations in Asia? What lessons can we draw from Asia's experience when we turn our attention to the Arab Spring of 2011 and other instances in which dictatorships have broken down when the masses took to the streets?

The preceding chapters suggest that a critical variable in determining the outcome of popular revolts against dictatorial rule is the response of the armed forces. No institution within the state matters more to autocratic regimes than the armed forces. Support from a preponderance of the military is crucial for the survival of a dictatorship. Conversely, backing from the armed forces is essential if people power movements want to succeed in overthrowing autocratic rule.[2] The key questions for us then are: Will the military continue to back autocratic rule by shooting the demonstrators on the streets? Or will

they refuse orders from their authoritarian rulers to shoot and side instead with the mass movements to bring down the dictatorship?

To explain the armed forces' likely response when mass demonstrations against authoritarian rule arise, I highlighted the importance of political institutions in dictatorial regimes. Specifically, I distinguished between personalistic authoritarian institutions and those that share power and spoils among the ruling elite. In the words of Rosberg and Jackson, personalistic dictatorial regimes are those in which "persons take precedent over rules, where the officeholder is not effectively bound by his office and is able to change its authority and powers to suit his own personal or political needs . . . the state is a government of men and not laws."[3] On the other hand, in authoritarian regimes that share power, mechanisms are in place to curtail discretionary behavior on the part of dictator.

The main theoretical argument I develop from these two typologies is that personalistic authoritarian rule leads to disaffection and often divisions within the armed forces. This creates favorable conditions for estranged senior officers to defect when mass protests erupt. If these disaffected senior officers successfully come to an agreement with key segments of the domestic opposition and other disaffected stalwarts of the regime, the entire military organization will likely refrain from firing on the protestors and will side instead with the popular movement to overthrow the authoritarian regime. On the other hand, if dictatorial rule is organized around power-sharing institutions that mitigate personalism, the defection of the armed forces is less likely to occur.

I illustrated these propositions through four case studies of popular protests in Asia. In chapter 3, I examined the personalization of Marcos's rule, in particular the impact it had on the Philippine armed forces (AFP). The most significant consequence of Marcos's personalization of the military, which decisively shaped the outcome of the 1986 People Power revolt, was the open rivalry between his top two generals, Fidel Ramos and Fabien Ver. One of Marcos's moves in this regard was to treat Fabien Ver preferentially over Fidel Ramos. In doing so, the marginalized Fidel Ramos had no qualms about defecting with Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile from the Marcos regime. Their defection and the subsequent outpouring of popular support for the military rebellion succeeded because Ramos and Enrile obtained the backing of a broad coalition of anti-Marcos groups, including the domestic opposition and the Philippine Catholic Church. The withdrawal of American support for the Marcos regime and its subsequent backing for Ramos and Enrile's rebellion

and the rightfully elected president Corazon Aquino was another vital event that ensured the AFP would not fire on the people thronging the streets of Manila, and that they and the military rebels would succeed in removing Marcos.

Suharto's personalized rule in Indonesia had a similar effect on the longevity of his regime when mass demonstrations against his government appeared in late 1997 and early 1998. In chapter 4, I showed that Suharto's personalization of the Indonesian armed forces (ABRI) through a divide-and-rule strategy led to a vicious tussle for power between Wiranto, the commander of the military, and Prabowo Subianto, head of the army's strategic reserves and also one of the president's sons-in-law. The onset of the student-led protests brought the Wiranto-Prabowo rivalry out into the open. Prabowo, emboldened by Suharto's inaction, did all he could to undermine Wiranto's position and authority with ABRI. Realizing that the mass demonstrations against Suharto were not going to end, and in order to protect his political position within the military, Wiranto sought domestic backing to ensure an orderly transition to end Suharto's New Order regime. Crucial in this regard was support for Wiranto from the Nahdlatul Ulama, the largest Muslim organization in Indonesia, the student activists who were largely behind the demonstrations in Jakarta, and the vice president B. J. Habibie. As domestic support coalesced around Wiranto, pro-Prabowo military officers defected, which was crucial in ensuring that the demonstrations against the Suharto regime would end without violence and a peaceful transition of power would occur once Suharto stepped down.

The final empirical chapter illustrated the argument in the obverse setting, that is, in authoritarian regimes that have institutions to mitigate personalism through power sharing. The militaries in such dictatorships were more likely to suppress mass demonstrations and in doing so, support the continuation of autocratic rule. I demonstrated this power-sharing proposition by analyzing the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and the military junta in Burma. The discussion in this chapter centered on the importance of three aspects of power-sharing institutions in regulating behavior among the ruling elite—the role of ruling councils and collective leadership; hierarchies; and rules for the rotation of power, succession, and conflict resolution. When examining the Tiananmen Square crackdown of June 1989, one observes that the CCP under paramount leader Deng Xiaoping was institutionalized with regularized mechanisms in place that generated incentives for the ruling elite, particularly the armed forces to "stick together [rather] than hang separately." In this chapter I

also demonstrated how military regimes could perform the same power-sharing functions as autocratic political parties, with rules and mechanisms in place to rotate power and resolve intrajunta disputes. Through the failed Saffron Revolt of 2007 in Burma, I explained why the Tatmadaw remain invested in the perpetuation of military rule and had no qualms forcefully crushing the Buddhist monks–led protests.

Does the Argument Travel?

The empirical evidence presented in this book has been geographically bounded. Is the causal logic detailed here then portable? Does the personalism–power-sharing argument developed from Asia's experience help us understand the 2011 mass revolts in the Middle East and North Africa, and in particular, the variation in outcomes in this region's attempts to overthrow autocratic rule? What about significant popular uprisings in other parts of the world prior to the 2011 Arab Spring? The answer is yes in some instances, no in others. Looking at the first two dictatorial regimes that collapsed in the wake of the popular uprisings—Tunisia and Egypt—we do see evidence of personalized dictatorial rule and the defection of the armed forces as a consequence of that. In the words of Philippe Droz-Vincent, Egypt and Tunisia "looked like presidential monarchies where power is located in a few networks around the leader and no longer in parties or institutions."[4] In other pertinent cases of the Arab Spring, namely Libya, Syria, and Bahrain, the personalism-power-sharing heuristic fares less well.

Tunisia

Secret documents WikiLeaks obtained revealed that the American ambassador to Tunisia reported in 2006 that more than half of Tunisia's commercial elites were personally related to President Zine el-Abidine Ben Ali through his three adult children, seven siblings, and second wife's ten brothers and sisters. This business network came to be known in Tunisia as "The Family." Ben Ali's cronyism alienated the labor movement, entrepreneurs, and the middle class, who had stood by Ben Ali's regime in 1987 and during his repression of Islamism. To ensure that "The Family" would be well protected in the future, Ben Ali arranged a constitutional referendum to remove the three-term limit for the presidency in 2002. The constitutional change made him a president for life. The constitutional change faced no resistance, because Ben Ali's party, the Democratic Constitutional Assembly, and the rubber-stamp Chamber of Deputies that it dominated, were under presidential control.[5]

Since taking power in 1987, Ben Ali had "won" five consecutive presidential elections, most recently in October 2009, with 89.6 percent of the vote. In addition, the prospect of a sixth mandate was circulated in the second half of 2010, just as Ben Ali was beginning his fifth term in office. The only limit to his presidency was the maximum age set at 75, a constraint Ben Ali had prepared to modify in advance of the 2014 poll. Prospects of succession within Zine el-Abidine Ben Ali's family were also circulated.[6]

Ben Ali neutered the political standing of the military. The armed forces were overshadowed by far larger, better funded, and more politically influential security agencies run by the Interior Ministry. With its comparatively disadvantaged status and the officer corps' contempt for the rampant corruption of "The Family," the military had little vested interest in the regime's survival and less so in shooting protestors to protect Ben Ali's regime. It was no surprise that as soon as Ben Ali was forced to turn to the armed forces as his last resort, they defected.[7]

Egypt

Like Tunisia, the Egyptian military's defection can be traced to increasing personalism in the Mubarak regime. Hosni Mubarak attempted to place his second son, the international banker Gamal, as his eventual successor. Gamal enjoyed a meteoric rise up the ruling National Democratic Party's (NDP) hierarchy. Mubarak had also begun developing a legal apparatus for hereditary succession. After the first direct multiparty vote for presidential elections in 2005, an "adequate" constitutional amendment was put in place that severely limited the pool of candidates that could run for the presidency: this required the endorsement of 250 officials from various strata of the Egyptian regime, all dominated by the ruling NDP, essentially paving the way for a Mubarak candidacy, either the father or the son.[8] There was also growing dissatisfaction with the conspicuous profiteering among the business elite who were connected to Gamal. Mubarak and his family had reportedly accumulated a fortune of between US$40 billion and US$70 billion, and thirty-nine officials and businessmen close to Gamal were alleged to have amassed fortunes averaging more than US$1 billion each.[9]

Furthermore Gamal Mubarak's business activities impinged on the military's economic interests. The Egyptian armed forces' business activities had encompassed everything from housewares to military-gear production, agriculture, and tourism. The revenue from these economic activities went di-

rectly to the military's coffers and was disbursed without state oversight. Military officers directly profited from the army's business endeavors through relatively high salaries plus preferential treatment in medical care, housing, and transport. In addition, the armed forces also reaped close to US$1.3 billion every year in military aid from the United States. It is worth noting that the head of the SCAF, Field Marshal Mohamed Hussein Tantawi, chaired the Defense Ministry and the Ministry of Military Production.[10] Gamal's use of his family's status to usurp some of these sources of funding created military resentment and made in easy for the armed forces to defect and side with the mass protests. Said an American diplomat in Egypt during the popular uprising: "You could almost hear them making the calculations in their heads . . . did they want to stick with an aging, sick leader whose likely successor was his own son, who the military didn't trust?"[11]

Libya, Bahrain, and Syria

The personalistic dictatorship of Libya's Muammar Gaddafi should have unfolded in the same manner as Egypt and Tunisia once popular protests against the regime began. Gaddafi rode roughshod in his management of the military, using a strategy of divide and rule, distributing the armed forces across an array of confusing and deliberately uncoordinated chains of command. In addition, Gaddafi created and favored parallel paramilitary forces commanded by his relatives.[12]

In Bahrain and Syria, we see military standing loyal too in the personalistic dictatorships of Sheikh Hamad bin Isa al-Khalifa and President Bashar al-Assad. In Bahrain, it was hard to entice any segment within the armed forces to defect to the cause of the popular movement against monarchical rule. And in Syria, at the time of writing, military units loyal to the Assad continue with their brutal assault against rebels seeking to overthrow the regime.

The failure of these popular revolts to spark military defection may be explained by the ethnic diversity of the three countries. Lisa Anderson argues that in Libya, every national institution, including the armed forces, has been divided by the cleavages of kinship and regional proclivities. In contrast to Tunisia and Egypt, Libya has no system of political alliances, network of economic associations, or national organizations of any kind. As such, when mass protests erupted in Libya, what unfolded was an all-out secession, or a series of multiple separate secessions, from the central government in Tripoli.[13]

In Bahrain, the military is not a national army and instead consists of Sunni Muslims charged with protecting the Sunni ruling family and Sunni political and business elites in a country that majority-Shia Iran continues to claim as its province since 1957, and where three out of every five Bahrainis are Shia. Bahrain's Sunnis thus live in constant fear of Iranian influence among local Shias. Bahrain has no national military for precisely this reason; its ruling elites do not want Shias bearing arms and receiving military training. It should therefore come as no surprise then that Bahrain's Sunni-based military pledged its allegiance to the Hamad bin Isa al-Khalifa family and put down the largely Shia-based protests movement that began in February 2011.[14]

Sectarian identity also figures keenly in the Syrian military's decision to stand firm with the Assad dictatorship. The Syrian officer corps has been dominated by members of the minority Alawite sect since 1955. The Assad family is also part of the Alawite community. The mostly Alawite military elite consider the Assad and the ruling Baath Party to be legitimate. In addition, because of the highly privileged position military officers enjoy in Syrian politics and society, it is unlikely the armed forces would be swayed by the disorganized and fragmented opposition to improve the military's lot. Moreover, the army's involvement in past human rights abuses such as the Hama massacre serves as a huge incentive to continue sticking with the Assad regime.[15]

The military's response in Libya, Bahrain, and Syria supports Sharon Nepstad's observation that in popular uprisings, if armed forces are comprised of different ethnic or religious groups that have unequal power relations to the regime, the likelihood of such militaries siding with the protests is low.[16] The Libyan, Bahraini, and Syrian militaries' allegiance to their respective autocratic regimes during the 2011 uprisings likewise substantiates Risa Brooks and James Quinlivan's findings for the resilience of Arab regimes. Arab dictators remained durable despite bouts of popular challenges because they developed "communities of trust" in the armed forces—the appointment of individuals from the same religious, tribal, ethnic, or regional group—that served as bases of coercive support for these regimes. We see these forms of civil–military relations in the tribally based monarchies of the Arab world, such as the oil monarchies of the Persian Gulf, or Iran, Iraq (prior to 2003), Jordan, and Morocco. The distinguishing feature of these countries is their heavy reliance on militaries that are drawn from tribes that are particularly loyal to the regime. The Saudi Arabian National Guard, for instance, protects the regime

against internal challenges and is drawn mainly from tribes which are particularly loyal to the royal family.[17]

1989 Eastern Europe

In Eastern Europe most of the authoritarian transitions from communism began with mass protests. The only personalistic regime that toppled, in part by military defection, was Romania.[18] During his time in office, Romanian president Nicolae Ceauşescu, ever distrustful, rotated the top military officials of key ministries and in the military establishment to prevent them from building their own power bases. In addition, the Romanian military had a rival, the security police (Securitate), which Ceausescu privileged.[19] In other cases, however, such as Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, and Poland, popular revolts triumphed against institutionalized communist regimes. One notable feature of the transitions in these countries was that the liberalization was gradual, largely via the process of "pacting." In Hungary and Poland especially, representatives of the Communist Party discussed the terms of transition with representatives of the opposition, setting the terms for the creation of a reformed or new political system, including decisions regarding dates and terms of elections, changes in the constitution (encompassing the removal of provisions guaranteeing a leading role of the Communist Party), and the dismantling of the security apparatus.[20]

The Colored Revolutions

The theoretical argument of this book mostly holds up well in the Colored Revolutions of the early 2000s. In the Georgian (Rose), Kyrgyzstani (Tulip), and Ukrainian (Orange) popular uprisings, when mass protests arose, the armed forces and other state security agencies in these three countries defected. In these revolts, the dictatorships in the three countries were widely regarded as personalistic. Georgia's Eduard Shevardnadze's led the country for almost three decades, during which only a small group within the elite benefited; political connections remained the favored means of acquiring capital; and the president's family or clan members controlled the state's most lucrative enterprises.[21] In Kyrgyzstan, there was widespread resentment against the Akayev government's rampant corruption and that the Akayev-led ruling elite were actively manipulating ostensible "mechanisms of democracy" in order to prolong its rule.[22] The path toward the Orange Revolution in Ukraine unfolded in similar circumstances. President Leonid Kuchma, the former director of the

Soviet Union's largest missile factory Baikonur Cosmodrome, brought with him covetous politicians from his home base of Dnepropetrovsk when he became president. In 2000, Kuchma's former bodyguard leaked hours of transcripts of the president's private conversations in which the president was overhead heard dispensing favors, paying massive kickbacks, and conspiring to suppress his opponents, making it evident that Kuchma sat at the head of a vast criminal system in Ukraine.[23]

Other Asian Revolts

In the other parts of Asia not covered in the case studies, the book's theoretical argument is mixed. Power-sharing authoritarian rule explains why the South Korean military opened fire on protestors in Kwangju and backed the junta led Maj. Gen. Chun Doo Hwan. The armed forces elite during the 1980s centered on the collective leadership of the *Hanahoe* (New Military Group) clique. Hanahoe members were graduates of the Korean Military Academy (KMA) and were from North Kyongsang Province. This informal fraternity society emerged as the most powerful political group after President Park Chung-Hee's death in 1979.[24] Chun Doo Hwan remained in power until 1988.

We observe in Thailand in 1992 that, despite the strong collective leadership of the military junta led by Gen. Suchinda Kraprayoon, the regime collapsed following the pro-democracy protests. While the Thai military forcefully suppressed the mass demonstrations in May 1992, General Suchinda had to step down as prime minister after the king intervened in the crisis and the much-respected Anand Panyarachun was appointed as interim prime minister. Suchinda's military regime was drawn from officers of Class 5 of the Chulachomklao Royal Military Academy. This group of military officers was at one point described as the "cleverest, most organized, unified academy class to come along for a long time," and "a potentially disturbing concentration of power in one military group's hands."[25]

Some Limitations

The book's mixed record in explaining the military's behavior in other instances of popular uprisings around the world suggests that my small-*n* case approach has its limitations. Although I have offered a general theoretical argument that varying forms of authoritarian rule—personalistic or power sharing—have an impact on regime durability in times of mass demonstrations, my four case studies can only serve as a starting point for theory genera-

tion rather than theory testing. With just four cases, the study runs into a "many variable, small-*n* problem."[26] The book demonstrates the analytical usefulness of personalistic-power-sharing typology in a limited number of comparable cases but less so for those beyond. In other words, I gain leverage on internal validity but at the expense of external validity.[27] While my case-based qualitative analysis has been driven by my fascination with these countries and the desire to be able to unpack the causal processes about military defection and authoritarian collapse, the main drawback is that it does not permit any wider verification that might be offered by large-*n* statistical work. The theoretical argument that this book offers clearly presents a wider research agenda begging for further investigation especially for scholars with quantitative skills.

Another limitation of my small-*n* study is that because my controlled comparison case research strategy is based on Mill's logic, it tends to be deterministic in that a single case can falsify my deductive propositions even if it holds for other cases. Mill's methods have been criticized for ignoring the possibility of chance events, the frequency of (dis)confirming cases, and the likelihood of measurement errors. With a small-*n*, scholars are often unable to measure, control, or model all relevant factors and social interactions. Perhaps the most critical of these shortcomings may be that of unaccounted for chance events that intervene in real-life social processes.[28] This is the problem of "limited diversity" due to historical contingency.[29]

I would suggest that the problem of contingency is inherent in any study—small- or large-*n*—examining the collapse of authoritarian rule. As O'Donnell and Schmittter note in their introductory section to the seminal *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule*, autocratic transitions are a period of "extraordinary uncertainty" with "numerous surprises and difficult dilemmas."[30] In their own words:

> Few moments pose such agonizing choices and responsibilities, ethical as well as political. If we ever have the temerity to formulate a theory of such processes, it would have to be a chapter in a much larger inquiry into the problem of "underdetermined" social change, of large-scale transformations which occur when there are insufficient structural or behavioral parameters to guide and predict the outcome. Such a theory would have to include elements of accident and unpredictability, of crucial decisions taken in a hurry with very inadequate information . . . in other words, it would have to be a theory of "abnormality," in

> which the unexpected and the possible are as important as the usual and the probable.[31]

Autocratic transitions should therefore be recognized as a time of a "high degree of indeterminacy embedded in situations where unexpected events (*fortuna*), insufficient information, hurried and audacious choices, confusion about motives and interests, plasticity, and even in-definition of political identities, as well as the talents of specific individuals (*virtu*), are frequently decisive in determining the outcomes."[32]

Despite the breadth of scholarly work in the study of the demise of authoritarian rule, researchers have yet to agree on a singular path, much less derive universally applicable necessary or sufficient conditions. Authoritarian transitions vary significantly "from era to era and region to region as a function of the international environment, available models of political organization, and predominant patterns of social relations."[33] Compounding the matter would be the fact that different scholars have deeper knowledge about some sets of cases than others. This particularistic in-depth knowledge shows up in the theoretical models scholars develop as the cases they know better are more likely to fit the theoretical propositions than in others.[34] It may actually be more expedient if scholars accept that the process of authoritarian breakdown might be different in different contexts, that these variations could turn out to be systematic, and that developing an understanding of how these differences matter could, in the long run, lead to a better grasp of how autocratic transitions take place.[35]

Contributions and Normative Implications

The limitations of small-*n* research notwithstanding, my book makes important contributions to two sets of literatures in comparative politics and offers opportunities for scholars to further build on.

Theories of Authoritarianism

How do non-democratic regimes maintain power and in what way is their durability linked to the variation in dictatorial forms? Scholars of autocratic regime survival have long suspected that the institutional basis of these governments matter. This study adds to the "institutional turn" in comparative authoritarianism, which unlike previous studies of authoritarian institutions, argued that institutions *undermined* elites' hold on power.[36] This body of work on authoritarian institutions argues that elites purposefully create institutions

that consolidate their hold on political power, thereby fostering durable authoritarian rule.

Like its predecessors, my book, by placing institutions at the forefront, locates the key reasons for authoritarian stability or breakdown in the longstanding patterns of behavior, both formal and informal, among the regimes' elites. It moves away from the descriptive patronage-based accounts of authoritarianism seen previously and suggests that two institutionalized forms of autocratic rule—personalistic and power sharing—help explain the variation in elite cohesion and consequently dictatorial durability.

Mirroring earlier work, I note that power-sharing arrangements in dictatorships are not simply "window dressing" but instead play a central role in the construction and robustness of autocratic rule. In this regard, the conventional wisdom that authoritarian institutions are empty shells and therefore not deserving of serious scholarly enquiry is incorrect.

This book does a little more than its forerunners. While the last decade of research on authoritarian institutions such as legislatures and political parties have been extremely productive, coercion, a fundamental feature of dictatorial rule, remains underaddressed. Our understanding of the coercive institutions of modern dictatorial regimes is pretty thin, especially when compared to prior scholarship of totalitarianism in which organizations like the Gestapo, KGB, and Stasi figured prominently. We certainly need to know much more than we currently do about the myriad of security forces that exist in authoritarian regimes—the armed forces, paramilitaries, presidential guards, secret police, militias, and armed thugs. This book takes a step in filling this void by refocusing on the role of militaries and, in doing so, unpacks their role when authoritarian regimes have to deal with mass challenges to their rule.

Political Change and Democratization in Asia

A quick survey of prior explanations of political change and democratization, or the lack thereof, in Asia would reveal approaches that are guilty of *post hoc ergo propter hoc* fallacies, linking events to outcomes, but failing to trace out in a coherent manner, causal logics. In the past, leading scholars of Asia similarly did not take advantage of the region's comparative theoretical opportunities. Multicountry comparative studies remained the exception rather than the norm in the study of the breakdown of authoritarian rule in Asia. There was a wealth of single-country studies that provided valuable empirical insights into the collapse of authoritarianism, but few scholars of Asia previously took up the

challenge to theorize comparatively about the commonalities and differences among countries in this very diverse region. Indeed, beyond the very broad gauge contrasts between democratic and non-democratic regimes, earlier scholars on political change in Asia paid scant attention to the systematic differences within these regimes and the impact these differences have on the longevity of autocratic rule in Asia.[37]

Clearly the landscape for comparative theoretical work on political change in Asia has gone through a sea change in the past decade or so. Recent examples of theoretical cross-national work on Asia, and Southeast Asia in particular, include studies by Mark Thompson, Vince Boudreau, Rick Doner, Erik Kuhonta, Andrew MacIntyre, Eddy Malesky, Thomas Pepinsky, Dan Slater, Ben Smith, and Tuong Vu.[38] This list is not exhaustive as other more recent examples can be easily uncovered with any rudimentary search in the scholarly databases. In all of these works, we find one or more Asian countries employed as a case, and compared against one or more countries within the region (Boudreau, Kuhonta, MacIntyre, Slater), or outside of Asia (Malesky et al., Smith), or both (Doner, Pepinsky, Vu). In all these studies, the scholars make specific arguments that Asian cases are useful as instances of broadly applicable political problems for which cross-unit comparisons are both possible and useful.[39]

My study emulates the contributions of my predecessors and improves our understanding of modern Asian politics, in particular, the determinants of authoritarian breakdown and political change. I use my contextual understanding of the Asian cases and search for comparisons from both within and outside of the region.

I hope I have found the appropriate balance to appeal to three sets of audiences. The first are readers who have a general theoretical interest in the collapse of authoritarian rule, especially those involving popular demonstrations. The second would be those keen on the study of civil-military relations and who want to learn more about the relationship between the armed forces and authoritarian regimes, and the key role this institution plays in the breakdown of dictatorial rule. And finally, to readers who are interested in the politics of Asia, especially that of Southeast Asia.

Normative Implications

Like most other works in the social sciences, this book has normative implications. The central one here would be: How can oppressed oppositions over-

throw entrenched autocratic incumbents? The findings in this study are realistic on some counts but encouraging on others.

In this book, I have has argued that sustained mass opposition alone is not sufficient to push dictatorships from power. Rather, I have demonstrated that autocratic regimes broke down because the coalition sustaining it fractured, and not because mass protestors forced the liberalization process. These experiences of the Philippines and Indonesia in this book both suggest that mass opposition against the regime does not itself lead to autocratic breakdown. The 1986 People's Power uprising in the Philippines remains a powerful image and an inspiration for popular revolts around the work. As we saw in chapter 3, it would have not been a successful model of regime transition without fundamental intraregime contradictions that led to the armed forces' defection, which consequently prevented Marcos from simply oppressing the masses on the street. To succeed, mass revolts require the assistance of the military.

None of the preceding analysis should minimize the value of popular movements. Mass protests often represent an unprecedented outpouring of emotion from disenfranchised groups in society demanding real political change. In Indonesia, for instance, in the wake of Suharto's resignation, the mass opposition movement that was fundamentally committed to reform and democratization was instrumental in ensuring that Indonesia's autocratic breakdown was followed by a democratic transition rather than a movement to another authoritarian regime.

This is not to suggest that mass demonstrations to overthrow autocratic rule are immune from setbacks or that there are no inherent risks when unarmed civilians confront dictatorial regimes. Indeed, I have in this study discussed, together with successful mass movements, instances when popular revolts have failed and bloody crackdowns have occurred. The intent here is instead to point out that popular protests have the potential to succeed. Through the main theoretical findings of this book, scholars, practitioners in the governmental and nongovernmental sectors, civil society activists, and the mass media have in their hands an understanding of how, when, and why mass protests succeed. Understanding this, we can find ways to assist peoples living under dictatorial rule to achieve the goals that have eluded them in the past.

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Notes

CHAPTER ONE: Military and People Power Revolts

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2. Erica Chenoweth and Maria Stephan, "Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict," *International Security* 33, no. 1 (summer 2008), 7–44. For similar findings see also Sharon Erickson Nepstad, *Nonviolent Revolutions: Civil Resistance in the Late 20th Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 128–131.

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7. Philippe C. Schmitter, "Speculations about the Prospective Demise of Authoritarian Regimes and Its Possible Consequences," *Revista de Ciéncia Politica* 83, no. 1 (1985), 103.

8. Richard Andrew Hall, "Theories of Collective Action and Revolution: Evidence from the Romanian Transition of December 1989," *Europe-Asia Studies* 52, no. 6 (Sept. 2000), 1081; Charles Tilly, *From Mobilization to Revolution* (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1978, 214–216.

9. Machiavelli as cited in Schmitter, "Speculations about the Prospective Demise of Authoritarian Regimes," 103.

10. Ibid., 103.

11. The field of civil-military relations has typically focused on examining the relationship between governments and their armed forces. However, I view the civil-military relations more broadly, taking into consideration all the direct and indirect dealings the

military has with society and other political institutions within a state. See James Burk, "Theories of Democratic Civil-Military Relations," *Armed Forces and Society* 29, no. 1 (fall 2002), 7.

12. Barbara Geddes, "What Do We Know About Democratization after Twenty Years?" *Annual Review of Political Science* 2 (1999), 121.

13. See, for example, Jennifer Gandhi and Adam Przeworski, "Authoritarian Institutions and the Survival of Autocrats," *Comparative Political Studies* 40, no. 11 (Nov. 2007), 1279–1301; Beatriz Magaloni, "Credible Power Sharing and the Longevity of Authoritarian Rule," *Comparative Political Studies* 41, no. 4–5 (April 2008), 715–741; Milan W. Svolik, "Power-sharing and Leadership Dynamics in Authoritarian Regimes," *American Journal of Political Science* 53, no. 2 (2009), 477–494.

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33. Karatnycky and Ackerman, *How Freedom is Won*, 6.

34. Figures 1.1, 1.2, and 1.3 are reproduced from Erica Chenoweth and Maria Stephan, *Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 7–9.

35. Karatnycky and Ackerman, *How Freedom is Won*, 6–7.

36. Chenoweth and Stephan's findings on the effectiveness of nonviolent movements are robust even when they take into account possible confounding factors such as target regime type, repression, and target regime capabilities. Karatnycky and Ackerman, *How Freedom Is Won*, 7.

37. A point nicely reinforced by Ackerman and Duvall in *A Force More Powerful*.

38. A rebellion is refusal of obedience and encompasses a range of behaviors ranging from symbolic protests, to civil disobedience, or activities such as economic or political noncooperation. Rebellions, unlike revolutions, do not aim to change a polity's socioeconomic and political structures. See Mark N. Hagopian, *The Phenomenon of Revolution* (New York: Harper Row, 1974); and Theda Skocpol, *States and Social Revolutions: A Comparative Historical Analysis of France, Russia, and China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

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should be considered revolutionary. See Mark R. Thompson, *Democratic Revolutions: Asia and Eastern Europe* (London: Routledge, 2004), 5–10.

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43. This review of the elite-driven approach to transitions draws heavily from Ruth Berins Collier, *Paths Toward Democracy: The Working Class and Elites in Western Europe and South America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 5–6.

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45. For example, demonstrations may strengthen the hand of the moderates in the opposition by signaling that the cost of retreating for the trajectory of political liberalization could come with a substantial and even unacceptable repression. Alternatively, these demonstrations may signal to hard-liners in the regime that the limited process of liberalization within the context of strengthening the authoritarian regime is getting out of control, and they should begin a crackdown again. See Collier, *Paths Toward Democracy*, 4–10.

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47. Ibid., 55–56.

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49. Ruth Berins Collier and James Mahoney, "Adding Collective Actors to Collective Outcomes: Labor and Recent Democratization in South America and Southern Europe," *Comparative Politics* 29, no. 3 (spring 1997), 287, 295.

50. Larry Diamond, *Developing Democracy: Towards Consolidation* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), 235.

51. Daron Acemoglu, Davide Ticchi, and Andrea Vindigni, "A Theory of Military Dictatorships," *American Economic Journal Macroeconomics* 2, no. 1 (Jan. 2010), 1.

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CHAPTER TWO: Authoritarian Institutions

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CHAPTER THREE: Personalism in the Philippines

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171. David Briscoe, "Lame Duck Military Chief Faces More Than Insurgency," *Associated Press*, October 31, 1985.

172. Rodney Tasker, "Ver Still There, But RAM Has to Be Reckoned With," *Far Eastern Economic Review*, February 27, 1986, 14.

173. Bryan Johnson, "Aquino Building Ties to the Military Amid Coup Talk," *Globe & Mail*, February 22, 1986.

174. Ramos was quoted in Tasker, "Ver Still There." See also: Arillo, *Breakaway*, 146–147; McCoy, *Closer than Brothers*, 228–229.

175. William Sullivan, "Living without Marcos," *Foreign Policy* 52 (winter 1983–84), 153. Cited in David Wurfel, "The Aquino Legacy," 75.

176. Nelson and McQuerry, eds., *The Philippines*.

177. McCoy, *Closer than Brothers*, 243.

178. Philippine Center for Investigative Journalism interview with Fidel Ramos. Available at http://pcij.org/blog/wp-files/podcasts/FVR.mp3 (accessed March 11, 2014).

179. Arillo, *Breakaway*, 23.

180. Richard Nations and Guy Sacerdoti, "Philippines: Marcos Give Ground on Some Points, But the Future is Still Uncertain," *Far Eastern Economic Review*, August 30, 1984, 22.

181. Ibid.

182. Johnson, *Four Days of Courage*, 78.

183. McCoy, *Closer than Brothers*, 246.

184. Wurfel, *Filipino Politics*, 302–304.

185. Robert L. Youngblood, "The Corazon Aquino 'Miracle' and the Philippine Churches," *Asian Survey* 27, no. 12 (Dec. 1987), 1242.

186. Ibid., 1243.

187. Ibid., 1244.

188. Thompson, *Anti-Marcos Struggle*, 118.

189. Biography of Radio Veritas: The 1986 Ramon Magsaysay Award for Journalism, Literature and Creative Communication Arts. Available at http://www.rmaf.org.ph/newrmaf/main/awardees/awardee/profile/175 (accessed March 11, 2014).

190. RAM also served Enrile's political agenda. After Enrile received reports of plans to "eliminate" him, RAM became his principal protection force. With Enrile's blessings and

funding, Gringo Honasan started building up a cache of arms and expanded their political base. Most of the supporters of RAM were Philippine Military Academy (PMA) graduates of classes 1965 through 1975. See Johnson, *Four Days of Courage*, 35; Davide et al., *The Final Report of the Fact Finding Commission*, 119–121; McCoy, *Closer than Brothers*, 230–234; Criselda Yabes, *The Boys from the Barracks: The Philippine Military after EDSA* (Pasig, Metro Manila: Anvil, 1991), 26–41.

191. Youngblood, "The Corazon Aquino 'Miracle' and the Philippine Churches," 1246.

192. Philippine Center for Investigative Journalism interview with Fidel Ramos. Available at http://pcij.org/blog/wp-files/podcasts/FVR.mp3 (accessed March 11, 2014).

193. Charles W. Lindsey, "Economic Crisis in the Philippines," *Asian Survey* 24, no. 12, (Dec. 1984), 1202; G. Sidney Silliman, "The Philippines in 1983: Authoritarianism Beleaguered," *Asian Survey* 24, no. 2 (Feb. 1984), 155–156.

194. Philippine Center for Investigative Journalism interview with Fidel Ramos. Available at http://pcij.org/blog/wp-files/podcasts/FVR.mp3 (accessed March 11, 2014).

195. Thompson, *Anti-Marcos Struggle*, 149.

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197. Thompson, *Anti-Marcos Struggle*, 149.

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199. Richard J Kessler, "Marcos and the Americans," *Foreign Policy* 63 (summer 1986), 40–57.

200. Bjorn Hagelin, "Military Dependency: Thailand and the Philippines," *Journal of Peace Research* 25, no. 4 (Dec. 1988), 431–448.

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203. Ibid., 69.

204. Kessler, "Marcos and the Americans," 47–48.

205. Jose P. Magno Jr and James A. Gregor, "Insurgency and Counterinsurgency in the Philippines," *Asian Survey* 26, no. 5 (May 1986), 502.

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207. Author's interview with a retired American ambassador to Manila (Apr. 2007).

208. Ibid.

209. R. Gregory Nokes, "U.S. Views Philippines Military as Key to Solution in Manila," *Associated Press*, February 22, 1986.

210. "Text of White House Statement," *Washington Post*, February 23, 1986.

211. John Finney to Secretary of State George Shultz, "Your Meeting with Congressional Leaders Monday, February 24 at 1:45pm," Memorandum, 24 February 1986. In *The Philippines*, ed. Nelson and McQuerry; Bernard Gwertzman, "U.S. Warns against Use of Force; Envoy Reports to Reagan on Trip," *New York Times*, February 24, 1986.

212. John Finney to Secretary of State George Shultz, "Your Meeting with Congressional Leaders Monday, February 24 at 1:45pm," Memorandum, February 24, 1986.

213. Bernard Gwertzman, "For Marcos, A Restless Night of Calls to the U.S.," *New York Times*, February 26, 1986; Arillo, *Breakaway*, 105–108; Johnson, *Four Days of Courage*, 232–234.

214. McCoy, *Closer than Brothers*, 245. By February 23, almost all junior and senior PC officers had declared their support for Ramos. See American Embassy (Manila) to Secretary of State, "SITREP 2, 1100hrs Feb 23, 1986–Situation at Camp Crame," Telegram, February

23, 1986, in *The Philippines*, ed. Nelson and McQuerry (Washington DC: National Security Archive and Chadwyck-Healey, 1990).

215. Johnson, *Four Days of Courage*, 234.

216. McCoy, *Closer than Brothers*, 245.

217. Davide et al., *The Final Report of the Fact Finding Commission*, 130–131.

218. American Embassy (Manila) to Secretary of State, "SITREP 2, 1100hrs Feb 23, 1986–Situation at Camp Aguinaldo," Telegram, February 23, 1986, in *The Philippines*, ed. Nelson and McQuerry.

219. American Embassy (Manila) to Secretary of State, "SITREP 17, Feb. 25 as of 1030hrs," Telegram, February 25, 1986, in *The Philippines*, ed. Nelson and McQuerry.

220. American Embassy (Manila) to Secretary of State, "SITREP 12, Feb. 24–1700hrs," Telegram, February 24, 1986, in *The Philippines* ed. Nelson and McQuerry.

221. American Embassy (Manila) to Secretary of State, "SITREP 16, Feb. 25 as of 0500hrs," Telegram, February 25, 1986, in *The Philippines*, ed. Nelson and McQuerry.

222. American Embassy (Manila) to Secretary of State, "SITREP 19, Feb. 25 as of 1400hrs," Telegram, February 25, 1986; American Embassy (Manila) to Secretary of State, "Philippine CIVAIR Developments," Telegram, February 25, 1986, in *The Philippines*, ed. Nelson and McQuerry.

223. American Embassy (Manila) to Secretary of State, "SITREP 17, Feb. 25 as of 1030hrs," Telegram, February 25, 1986, in *The Philippines*, ed. Nelson and McQuerry.

224. McCoy, *Closer than Brothers*, 255; Johnson, *Four Days of Courage*, 221–222.

225. Johnson, *Four Days of Courage*, 249.

CHAPTER FOUR: Personalism in Indonesia

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2. Cited in Bird, "Indonesia in 1997," 173.

3. Adam Schwarz, *A Nation in Waiting: Indonesia's Search for Stability* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2000), chapter 11; Michael R. J. Vatikiotis, *Indonesian Politics under Suharto: The Rise and Fall of the New Order* (London: Routledge, 1998), chapter 10.

4. Judith Bird, "Indonesia in 1998: The Pot Boils Over," *Asian Survey* 39, no. 1 (Jan.–Feb. 1999), 27.

5. Ibid., 29.

6. Ibid.

7. The exact words were: "Asal aksi itu dilakasnakan di tempatnya masing-masing. Kalau sampai turun ke jalan, kami tindak tegas." Cited in Vincent Boudreau, *Resisting Dictatorship: Repression and Protest in Southeast Asia* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 230.

8. This discussion of the student protests is adapted from Vincent Boudreau, *Resisting Dictatorship*, 230–237; and Stefan Eklof, *Indonesian Politics in Crisis: The Long Fall of Suharto 1996–98* (Denmark: Nordic Institute of Asian Studies, 1999), 158–161, 171–174.

9. James Siegel, "Thoughts on the Violence of May 13 and 14, 1998, in Jakarta," in *Violence and the State in Suharto's Indonesia*, ed. Benedict Anderson (Ithaca, NY: Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University, 2001), 37–39.

10. Louise Williams, "Soeharto Tells Military to Crush Dissent," *Sydney Morning Herald*, February 13, 1998.

11. Susan Sim, "ABRI Can Now Take Repressive Action," *Straits Times*, April 18, 1998.

12. Mukis Ali, "Indonesia's Suharto Calls for Stability, Reform," *Reuters*, May 9, 1998.

13. Boudreau, *Resisting Dictatorship*, 225–237.

14. Kees Van Dijk, *A Country in Despair: Indonesia between 1997 and 2000* (Leiden: KILTV Press, 2001), 127, 165; Schwarz, *A Nation in Waiting*, 353.

15. Terry McCarthy, "Behind the Scenes: Indonesia's Students Are Testing Suharto's Limits and Getting Tacit Support from Some Unexpected Places," *Time* (International), March 30, 1998.

16. Keith B. Richburg, "Military's Role Seen as Key to Indonesia's Fate," *Washington Post*, May 10, 1998; Jim Della-Giacoma, "Indonesian Military Faces Dilemmas," *Reuters*, May 17, 1998.

17. Van Dijk, *A Country in Despair*, 179.

18. Tatik Hafidz's interview with Syafrie Syamsuddin. According to Syamsuddin, two of Wiranto's assistants, assistant of operations, Maj. Gen. Johny Lumintang, and assistant of sociopolitical affairs, Maj. Gen. Mardiyanto, came to his office and were received by commander of Jakarta Garrison, Brig. Gen. M. Yahya. They conveyed Wiranto's order that he was to provide transportation for the students who wished to go to the parliament building. Tatik Hafidz, *Fading Away? The Political Role of the Army in Indonesia's Transition to Democracy* (Singapore: Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies Monograph No. 897, 2006), 97.

19. Ibid.

20. Ibid.

21. "Indonesia: Suharto Resisting; Greater Military Power Seen," *Dow Jones International News*, May 17, 1998; Raju Gopalakrishnan, "Military Rivalry May Have Hastened Suharto's Exit," *Reuters*, May 26, 1998; Susan Sim, "Maverick General at the Centre of Controversy," *Straits Times*, November 8, 1998.

22. Van Dijk, *A Country in Despair*, 207; Vatikiotis, *Indonesian Politics under Suharto*, 230.

23. Van Dijk, *A Country in Despair*, 207; Eklof, *Indonesian Politics in Crisis*, 212; Vatikiotis, *Indonesian Politics under Suharto*, 230.

24. Jun Honna's interview with Gen. Wiranto in Jun Honna, *Military Politics and Democratization in Indonesia* (London: Routledge 2003), 161. General Subagyo Hadisiswoyo (army chief) and Gen. Wiranto also gave identical accounts in Hafidz, *Fading Away*, 102.

25. Schwarz, *A Nation in Waiting*, 364.

26. Suharto called his regime the New Order (*Orde Baru*) to distinguish it from Sukarno's turbulent two-decade rule. He termed that period the Old Order (*Orde Lama*) and suggested that Sukarno's Old Order had been a deviation and betrayal of the 1945 Constitution, particularly Indonesia's ideology of *Pancasila* (five principles). The New Order was meant to be a "total correction" of that deviation and would be based on a "pure and consistent" implementation of Pancasila, focusing on economic development and strong political institutions.

27. Dan Slater makes a similar argument about the transformation of the core institutional features of Suharto's New Order regime, beginning first as a system of oligarchic military rule, evolving later into a highly personalized regime. See Dan Slater, "Altering Authoritarianism: Institutional Complexity and Autocratic Agency in Indonesia," in *Explaining Institutional Change: Ambiguity, Agency, and Power*, ed. James Mahoney and Kathleen Thelen (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 132–167.

28. Schwarz, *A Nation in Waiting*, 28–29.

29. Harold Crouch, *The Army and Politics in Indonesia* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1978), chapter 7.

30. Ruth McVey, "The Case of the Disappearing Decade," Paper delivered at the Conference of Indonesian Democracy, 1950s and 1990s, Monash University, Dec. 17–20, 1992, 5 and 8. Cited in Schwarz, *A Nation in Waiting*, 29.

31. Schwarz, *A Nation in Waiting*, 28–29.

32. Jamie Mackie and Andrew MacIntyre, "Politics," in *Indonesia's New Order: The Dynamics of Socio-Economic Transformation*, ed. Hal Hill (St. Leonards, Australia: Allen & Unwin, 1994), 7 and 11.

33. R. E. Elson, *Suharto: A Political Biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 160.

34. Schwarz, *A Nation in Waiting*, 28–29.

35. Karl Jackson, "Bureaucratic Polity: A Theoretical Framework for the Analysis of Power and Communications in Indonesia," in *Political Power and Communications in Indonesia*, ed. Karl Jackson and Lucien W. Pye (Berkeley: University of California Press), 11.

36. Mackie and MacIntyre, "Politics," 7.

37. Martin Rudner, "The Indonesian Military and Economic Policy: The Goals and Performance of the First Five-Year Development Plan," *Modern Asian Studies* 10, no. 2 (1976), 250–252. The main levels of government in Indonesia are provinces (propinsi), followed by regencies (kabupaten), and villages (desa).

38. Harold Crouch, "Military Politics under Indonesia's New Order," *Pacific Affairs* 42, no. 2 (summer 1972), 213.

39. Elson, *Suharto*, 127.

40. Edward Aspinall, *Opposing Suharto: Compromise, Resistance, and Regime Change in Indonesia* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2005), 242.

41. Elson, *Suharto*, 127.

42. Ibid., 128.

43. Donald K. Emmerson, "Understanding the New Order: Bureaucratic Pluralism in Indonesia," *Asian Survey* 23, no. 11 (Nov. 1983), 1239.

44. Dwight Y. King, "Indonesia's New Order as a Bureaucratic Polity, a Neopatrimonial Regime or a Bureaucratic-Authoritarian Regime: What Difference Does It Make?" in *Interpreting Indonesian Politics: Thirteen Contributions to the Debate*, ed. Benedict Anderson and Audrey Kahin (Ithaca, NY: Cornell Modern Indonesia Project), 104–116.

45. Crouch, *Army and Politics in Politics in Indonesia*, 308.

46. Crouch, "Military Politics under Indonesia's New Order," 213.

47. Martin Rudner, "The Indonesian Military and Economic Policy: The Goals and Performance of the First Five-Year Development Plan," *Modern Asian Studies* 10, no. 2 (1976), 250–252.

48. Crouch, *Army and Politics in Politics in Indonesia*, 243.

49. Michael Malley, "Soedjono Hoemardani and Indonesian-Japanese Relations 1966–1974," *Indonesia* 48 (Oct., 1989), 47–64.

50. David Jenkins, *Suharto and His Generals: Indonesian Military Politics, 1975–83* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1984), 22–23.

51. Elson, *Suharto*, 169–170.

52. Jenkins, *Suharto and His Generals*, 23.

53. Bruce Glassburner, "In the Wake of General Ibnu: Crisis in the Indonesian Oil Industry," *Asian Survey* 16, no. 12 (Dec. 1976), 1099.

54. Ulf Sundhaussen, "The Military: Structure, Procedures, and Effects on Indonesian Society," in *Political Power and Communications in Indonesia*, ed. Karl Jackson and Lucien W. Pye (Berkeley: University of California Press), 53.

55. Glassburner, "In the Wake of General Ibnu," 1100.

56. Ibid., 1100; Seth Lipsky and Raphael Pura, "Indonesia: Testing Time for the New Order," *Foreign Affairs* 57, no. 1 (fall 1978), 187.

57. R. William Liddle, "The Relative Autonomy of the Third World Politician: Soeharto and Indonesian Economic Development in Comparative Perspective," *International Studies Quarterly* 35, no. 4 (Dec. 1991), 418.

58. Gunnar Mydral, *Asian Drama: An Inquiry into the Poverty of Nations* (New York: Pantheon Press, 1968), 65–67.

59. Elson, *Suharto*, 149–150.

60. Emil Salim, "Emil Salim," in *Recollections: The Indonesian Economy, 1950s–1990s*, ed. Thee Kian Wie (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2003), 209.

61. Takashi Shiraishi, *Technocracy in Indonesia: A Preliminary Analysis*, Research Institute of Economy, Trade, and Industry (RIETI), Discussion Paper Series 05-E-008, Mar. 2006, 12–13.

62. John James MacDougall, "The Technocratic Model of Modernization: The Case of Indonesia's New Order," *Asian Survey* 16, no. 12 (Dec. 1976), 1167; and Elson, *Suharto*, 160.

63. Jeffrey A. Winters, *Power in Motion: Capital Mobility and the Indonesian State* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996), 84–90; Liddle, "The Relative Autonomy of the Third World Politician," 419–420.

64. Winters, *Power in Motion*, chapter 4.

65. Jonathan Pincus and Rizal Ramli, "Indonesia: From Showcase to Basket Case," *Cambridge Journal of Economics* 22, no. 6 (1998), 723–734. As Pincus and Ramli note, although Suharto sought the advice of the technocrats during the 1997–98 financial crisis, unlike the early years, they now lacked the authority to enforce new rules or to build the required supervisory and regulatory powers within the bureaucratic apparatus.

66. Kopkamtib (Operational Command for the Restoration of Order and Security/*Komando Operasi Pemulihan Keamanan dan Ketertiban*) was first established after the failed communist coup attempt of September 1965. Its task was to eliminate the PKI and prevent its reemergence. In 1969, having crushed the PKI, Kopkamtib was "the principal enforcer of the regime's structure and norms." The regime arrested and detained those it considered as "subversive," such as students, journalists, and Muslim leaders through Kopkamtib. Its operational mandate also included ensuring the subordination of ABRI to the political leadership and securing the loyalty and unity of the armed forces. Depending on the circumstances, the commander of Kopkamtib could impose martial law without executive or legislative oversight. See Robert Lowry, *The Armed Forces of Indonesia* (St. Leonards, Australia: Allen & Unwin, 1996), 55–60.

67. Sumitro was said to be also unhappy with the Aspri officers' business links with Chinese and foreign partners. See K. H. Ramadhan, *Sumitro: Former Commander of Indonesia Security Apparatus* (Jakarta: Pustaka Sinar Harapan, 1996), 286, 307–311.

68. Crouch, *Army and Politics in Indonesia*, chapter 12.

69. Mackie and MacIntyre, "Politics," 13.

70. Bearing in mind that Kopkamtib was supposed to be the main intelligence and security agency at that time.

71. Schwarz, *A Nation in Waiting*, 34–35; Elson, *Suharto*, 207.

72. John Bresnan, *Managing Indonesia: The Modern Political Economy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 162–163.

73. Mackie and MacIntyre, "Politics," 14.

74. Nasution was the well-respected former army chief who declared in 1958 that the Indonesian military would take a middle way (*jalan tengah*, Middle Path) between military rule and an apolitical role. This speech is said to be the origin of the concept of the military's dual function (*dwifungsi*), which asserts that it is legitimate and necessary for the armed forces to take on both military and nonmilitary roles. In its traditional role, the military's responsibility is to ensure the defense and security of the republic; in its nonmilitary

role, the armed forces are a political entity that function as the guardian of the people and can control appointments to important civil service and governmental positions. See Terence Lee, "The Nature and Future of Civil-Military Relations in Indonesia," *Asian Survey* 40, no. 4 (July–Aug. 2000), 692–706.

75. C. L. M. Penders and Ulf Sundhaussen, *Abdul Haris Nasution: A Political Biography* (St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1985), 220–229; Elson, *Suharto*, 230.

76. Jenkins, *Suharto and His Generals*, chapters 4–6.

77. Ibid., 162–164.

78. Elson, *Suharto*, 231–232.

79. Ibid., 208–209.

80. The 1945 Generation refers to the senior officers who participated in the revolution against the Dutch from 1945 to 1949.

81. Harold Crouch, "Indonesia: The Rise or Fall of Suharto's Generals," *Third World Quarterly* 10, no. 1 (Jan. 1988), 164.

82. Murdani was only a teenager during the Dutch revolution and not an officer and is sometimes described as being part of the "Bridging Generation," his appointment to the military's top post during this period is generally accepted to have ushered in the rise of the Magelang Generation.

83. "Current Data on the Indonesian Military Elite," *Indonesia* 36 (Oct. 1983), 111.

84. Vatikiotis, *Indonesian Politics under Suharto*, 80.

85. Ibid.

86. Because Murdani was the commander of the armed forces, he headed both Kopkamtib and Bais.

87. Elson, *Suharto*, 244–245.

88. "Current Data on the Indonesian Military Elite," *Indonesia* 36 (Oct. 1983), 99, 112.

89. Paul Handley, "Coming to the Defence of the Family Business," *Far Eastern Economic Review*, May 22, 1986, 40; Adam Schwarz. "Corporate Catalyst," *Far Eastern Economic Review*, April 30, 1992, 56–57; Adam Schwarz, "Father and Children," *Far Eastern Economic Review*, April 30, 1992, 55.

90. John McBeth, "Succession Talk Recedes: Suharto Could Lead into the 21st Century," *Far Eastern Economic Review*, May 18, 1995, 48–50.

91. Elson, *Suharto*, 278.

92. Ibid., 249; Schwarz, *A Nation in Waiting*, 141–142.

93. Schwarz, *A Nation in Waiting*, 143.

94. Elson, *Suharto*, 249; Schwarz, *A Nation in Waiting*, 142.

95. Schwarz, *A Nation in Waiting*, 312.

96. Adam Schwarz and Mark Clifford, "Naval Maneuvers," *Far Eastern Economic Review*, May 13, 1993.

97. Raphael Pura, "Suharto Lawyers Ask Court to Reject Suit over Decree," *Asian Wall Street Journal*, November 1, 1994.

98. Elson, *Suharto*, 293.

99. Schwarz, *A Nation in Waiting*, 314–315.

100. Ibid., 315.

101. "Indonesia Sacks Airline Director," *Reuters*, 24 October 1995.

102. Schwarz, *A Nation in Waiting*, 272.

103. Ibid., 273–274.

104. Ibid., 274.

105. John McBeth, "New Kids on the Block," *Far Eastern Economic Review*, November 23, 1993.

106. Schwarz, *A Nation in Waiting*, 274.

107. Crouch, "Indonesia: The Rise or Fall of Suharto's Generals," 165.

108. Salim Said, "Suharto's Armed Forces: Building a Power Base in New Order Indonesia, 1966–1998," *Asian Survey* 38, no. 6 (June 1988), 540.

109. Ibid., 541.

110. Soeharto, *My Thoughts, Words, and Deeds: An Autobiography*, trans. Sumadi (Jakarta: Citra Lamtoro Gung Persada, 1991), 469–472.

111. Michael Vatikiotis, "Lines of Allegiance," *Far Eastern Economic Review*, January 18, 1990.

112. Elson, *Suharto*, 261–262.

113. Bill Tarrant, "Indonesia's Powerful Internal Security Agency Replaced," *Reuters*, September 6, 1998.

114. Said, "Suharto's Armed Forces," 543.

115. "Current Data on the Indonesian Military Elite," in *Indonesia* 53 (Apr. 1992), 93–136; *Indonesia* 55 (Apr. 1993), 177–198; and *Indonesia* 56 (Oct. 1993), 119–152.

116. "Current Data on the Indonesian Military Elite," *Indonesia* 58 (Oct. 1994), 83–101.

117. John McBeth, "Shooting Stars: All Eyes on Changes in Military's Top Ranks," *Far Eastern Economic Review*, February 23, 1995.

118. Richard Borsuk, "General Fills Key Indonesian Army Post," *Asian Wall Street Journal*, August 24, 1992.

119. Suhaini Aznam, "Suharto's Praetorians," *Far Eastern Economic Review*, April 22, 1993.

120. Harold Crouch, "An Uncertain Outlook," *Southeast Asian Affairs* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1994), 127.

121. "Current Data on the Indonesian Military Elite," *Indonesia* 60 (Oct. 1995), 104–105.

122. Jeremy Wagstaff, "Indonesia's Suharto to Elbow an Army Protégé Aside," *Reuters*, January 27, 1995; Paul Jacobs, "It's Official: Hartono to be Army Chief," *Straits Times*, February 9, 1995.

123. "Current Data on the Indonesian Military Elite," *Indonesia* 58 (Oct. 1994), 87.

124. McBeth, "Succession Talk Recedes."

125. "Current Data on the Indonesian Military Elite," *Indonesia* 55 (Apr. 1993), 180.

126. Crouch, "An Uncertain Outlook," 127; Said, "Suharto's Armed Forces," 544.

127. "Current Data on the Indonesian Military Elite," *Indonesia*, 60 (Oct. 1995), 105.

128. "Current Data on the Indonesian Military Elite," *Indonesia*, 56 (Oct. 1993), 123.

129. Elson, *Suharto*, 260.

130. Michael Vatikiotis, "Suharto's Staying Power," *Far Eastern Economic Review*, January 18, 1990.

131. R. William Liddle, "Soeharto's Indonesia: Personal Rule and Political Institutions," *Pacific Affairs* 58, no. 1 (spring 1985), 71.

132. Mackie and MacIntyre, "Politics," 4.

133. William Liddle, "Of Virtue and Vice . . . ," *Far Eastern Economic Review*, May 16, 1985, 49.

134. Jamie Mackie, "Patrimonalism: The New Order and Beyond," in *Soeharto's New Order and its Legacy: Essays in Honour of Harold Crouch*, ed. Edward Aspinall and Greg Fealy (Canberra: Australian National University, Asian Studies Series Monograph, 2010), 91.

135. Douglas Kammen and Chandra Siddharth, *A Tour of Duty: Changing Patterns of Military Politics in Indonesia in the 1990s* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999), 37.

136. "Current Data on the Indonesian Military Elite," *Indonesia* 67 (Apr. 1999), 133–162.

137. Kammen and Siddharth, *A Tour of* Duty, 39.

138. "Current Data on the Indonesian Military Elite," *Indonesia* 65 (Apr. 1998), 179–194.

139. I am following the lead of Indonesian academics and the Indonesian press in using Prabowo as the shorthand reference for Prabowo Subianto. Even though Prabowo is his first name, this is the name he is universally known by in Indonesia. I used a similar approach for other significant individuals in this chapter, adhering to majority usage and intuition rather than a clear rule for Indonesian family and first names.

140. Comments by Douglas Ramage, head of the Asia Foundation's office in Indonesia, and *Washington Post*, May 7, 1998. Cited in Schwarz, *A Nation in Waiting*, 354.

141. Kammen and Siddharth, *A Tour of Duty*, 53.

142. Marcus Mietzner, *Military Politics, Islam, and the State in Indonesia: From Turbulent Transition to Democratic Consolidation* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2008), 111–112.

143. Jun Honna, "Military Ideology," 92–93, fn48.

144. Schwarz, *A Nation in Waiting*, 335.

145. "Feisal: Saya Tidak Terlibat Kasus Penculikan Para Aktivis," *Media Indonesia*, July 25, 1998. Cited in Honna, "Military Ideology," 114, fn.124.

146. "Theo Sjafei Interview Forum 10.8.98," *Indonesia* 67 (Apr. 1999), 130–131.

147. Honna, "Military Ideology," 92.

148. "Current Data on the Indonesian Military Elite," *Indonesia* 65 (Apr. 1998), 184. See for instance the roster below: Brig. Gen. Idris Gassing (Class 74), deputy commander general, Kopassus; Col. Tri Tamtomo (Class 74) who was commander of the First Infantry Brigade (headquartered in Jakarta) in 1996–97 and now serves as assistant for operations to chief of staff, Kodam Jaya; Col. Bahir Alamsyah (Class 74) who was assistant for operations to chief of staff, Jakarta Capital Garrison, and now serves as assistant for intelligence to chief of staff, Kodam III Siliwangi; Col. Eddy Budianto (Class 74), commander of Korem 061 Bogor; Col. Rasyid Qumain Aquari (Class 75), commander of Group A, Presidential Security Squad; Col. Jul Effendi Syarief (Class 76), assistant for intelligence to chief of staff, Kodam Jaya; Col. Suryo Gino (Class 76), commander of the Kostrad 17th Infantry Brigade (headquartered in Jakarta).

149. Mietzner, *Military Politics, 100.*

150. Ruth McVey, "The Post-Revolutionary Transformation of the Indonesian Army: Part I," *Indonesia* 11 (Apr. 1971), 139; Allan A. Samson, "Army and Islam in Indonesia," *Pacific Affairs* 44, no. 4 (winter 1971–72), 547.

151. R. William Liddle "The Islamic Turn in Indonesia: A Political Explanation," *Journal of Asian Studies* 55, no. 3 (Aug. 1996), 615.

152. Honna "Military Ideology," 68; Liddle "The Islamic Turn in Indonesia," 619; Said, "Suharto's Armed Forces," 545; Robert W. Hefner, *Civil Islam: Muslims and Democratization in Indonesia* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 151.

153. Marcus Mietzner, "Godly Men in Green," *Inside Indonesia* 53 (Jan.–Mar. 1998).

154. Scholars of Islam in Indonesia typically refer to two sets of Muslims in the country—the *abangan* and *santri*. For the *abangan* Muslims, Islam is a mixture of traditional mystical and Hindu-Buddhist beliefs. According to Clifford Geertz, the *abangan* religious tradition is based primarily on the *slametan*, "an extensive and intricate complex of spirit beliefs, and of a whole set of theories and practices of curing, sorcery and magic." For s*antris* on the other hand, Islamic doctrine and apologetics occupies a more central place. Geertz notes that *santris* seem to be more concerned about "the defense of Islam as a superior ethical code for modern man, as a workable social doctrine for modern society, and as a fertile source of values for modern culture." *Santris* tend to place a strong emphasis on the "necessity for unreserved belief and faith in the absolute truth of Islam and by marked intolerance for Javanese

beliefs and practices they take to be heterodox." As such, *santris* see themselves as "purer" Muslims than *abangans*. See Clifford Geertz, *The Religion of Java* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1973), 5, 127, 160.

155. Hefner, *Civil Islam*, 151.

156. David Jenkins, "Islam's Generals Move Up as the Iron Hoop Turns Green," *Sydney Morning Herald*, January 10, 1998.

157. Ibid.

158. The DDII supported Prabowo Subianto as many of its founders were associates of Prabowo's father, Professor Sumitro Djojohadikusumo, during the PRRI-Permesta rebellions.

159. Margot Cohen, "Us and Them: Muslim Activists Say It's Time to Seize Economic Power," *Far Eastern Economic Review*, February 12, 1998.

160. Kammen and Siddharth, *A Tour of Duty*, 13.

161. Said, "Suharto's Armed Forces," 545; Hefner, *Civil* Islam, 151; Marcus Mietzner, "Godly Men in Green."

162. Honna, "Military Ideology," 105–106.

163. "Syarwan Hamid Stresses Dialog for Democracy," *Jakarta Post*, July 1, 1997; "Critical Retired General Welcomes Chance for Talks," *Jakarta Post*, July 2, 1997; "Hoegeng Attends Police Anniversary Ceremony," *Jakarta Post*, July 2, 1997; "Reconciliation in the Air," *Jakarta Post*, July 4, 1997; "Government Critics Reconciliation Move Hailed," *Jakarta Post*, July 4, 1997.

164. Jun Honna, *Military Politics and Democratization in Indonesia*, 74–81.

165. Mietzner, *Military Politics*, 104–105.

166. Mietzner's interview with Wiranto. See Mietzner, *Military Politics*, 116.

167. "Special Report—Indonesia—The Resignation," *Asiaweek*, March 1, 2000.

168. This account of Prabowo's complicity in the elevation of Muchdi to head Kopassus was corroborated in my interview with a close Prabowo associate in December 2005.

169. Wiranto, *Witness in the Storm: A Memoir of Army General (Ret.) Wiranto* (Jakarta: Delta Pustaka Express, 2004), 20–21.

170. Mietzner's interview with Djaja Suparman. See Mietzner, *Military Politics*, 106

171. Mietzner's interview with Wiranto. See Mietzner, *Military Politics*, 106.

172. Author's interviews with a retired foreign defense attaché to Indonesia, October and December 2005. See also Bilveer Singh, *Succession Politics in Indonesia: The 1998 Presidential Elections and the Fall of Suharto* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999), 123.

173. Kevin O'Rourke, *Reformasi: The Struggle for Power in Post-Soeharto Indonesia* (Australia: Allen & Unwin, 2003), 123–124; James Luhulima, *Hari-hari Panjang Menjelang Mundurnya Presiden Soeharto* (Jakarta: Kompas, 2001), 135 and 166.

174. Mietzner's interview with J. Kristiadi, Executive Director CSIS. See Mietzner, *Military Politics*, 115.

175. Aidul Filtriciada Azhari, *Beraksi di Tengah Badai, Dari Catatan Jenderal Purniawirawan Wiranto* (Jakarta: Institute for Democracy of Indonesia, 2003), 21–22. Prabowo and Kopassus functioned as Suharto's principal instrument for the gathering of intelligence and the conducting of covert operations against internal security threats, both real and perceived. The threats included armed guerrilla movements in East Timor, Aceh, and Irian Jaya, and also political "subversives" such as student activists. See Kevin O'Rourke, *Reformasi*, 68–69.

176. Hafidz's interview with Hartono. See Hafidz, *Fading Away*, 73–74.

177. Ibid.

178. Aidul Filtriciada Azhari, *Beraksi di Tengah Badai, Dari Catatan Jenderal Purniawirawan Wiranto* (Jakarta: Institute for Democracy of Indonesia, 2003), 80.

179. "Armed Forces Division: Questions over Unity in the Military," *Asiaweek*, March 13, 1998.

180. "ABRI Denies It Was Forced to Nominate Habibie," *Straits Times*, February 26, 1998.

181. John McBeth, Military Affairs: Under the Volcano," *Far Eastern Economic Review*, February 5, 1998.

182. Mietzner's interview with Wiranto. See Mietzner, *Military Politics*, 127.

183. Schwarz, *A Nation in Waiting*, 357; Van Dijk, *A Country in Despair*, 195–196; Sukardi Rinakit, *The Indonesian Military after the New Order* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2005), 120.

184. The BBC correspondent in Jakarta, Matt Frei, described the situation as one of "complete and rampant anarchy." "Total Anarchy in Jakarta," BBC News, May 21, 1998. Available at http://news.bbc.co.uk/olmedia/90000/audio/_93400_mattfrei.ram.

185. This parliamentary session reelected Suharto to the presidency and appointed B. J. Habibie as vice president. Susan Berfield and Dewi Loveard, "Ten Days that Shook Indonesia," *Asiaweek*, July 27, 1998; Jose Manuel Tesoro, "The Scapegoat?" *Asiaweek*, March 3, 2000.

186. Habibie reportedly said to Prabowo, "If I become president, you'll be armed forces chief, you'll be four-star." See Tesoro, "The Scapegoat?"

187. Author's interview with a retired foreign defense attaché to Indonesia (Dec. 2005). See also Hafidz, *Fading Away*, 89–90.

188. Author's interview with a retired foreign defense attaché to Indonesia (Oct. 2005). Also see Hafidz's interview with General Subagyo. Hafidz, *Fading Away*, 94.

189. Quote from Derwin Pereira, "A Javanese Warrior Waiting in the Wings," *Straits Times*, June 4, 1998. See also John McBeth, "Soldering On: Military Chief Faces down One Threat but Others Loom," *Far Eastern Economic Review*, June 4, 1998; and Yang Razali Kassim, "Was Prabowo Just the Fall Guy," *Straits Times*, August 26, 1998.

190. Hafidz, *Fading Away*, 72.

191. Ibid.

192. Mietzner, *Military Politics*, 123.

193. Mietzner's interview with Wiranto. See ibid., 123.

194. Prabowo and his allies had consistently advocated confronting critics of the New Order regime with repression rather than accommodation. See ibid., 112.

195. Iwan Abdurrahman was a celebrated composer and environmental activist. An accomplished martial art expert, he helped to found Satria Muda Indonesia (SMI), a martial organization along with Prabowo and stayed by the latter's side through the ups and downs of his military career.

196. Tatik Hafidz, *Fading Away*, 90.

197. Ibid., 90.

198. "Theo Sjafei Interview Forum 10.8.98," *Indonesia* 67 (Apr. 1999), 128–129.

199. Ibid., 129–130.

200. Ibid., 130.

201. A Wiranto confidante recounted that Wiranto had few political constituents to appeal to. He advised Wiranto to ensure the student activists and NU were on his side. Author's interview with a Wiranto associate (Jan. 2007).

202. Author's interview with senior NU's leaders (Dec. 2008).

203. Theodore Friend, *Indonesian Destinies* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003), 203. For more of NU's political exclusion from Indonesian politics, see Greg Barton, *Gus Dur: The Authorized Biography of Abdurrahman Wahid* (Jakarta: Equinox, 2002), 180–192, 199–205; Edward Aspinall, *Opposing Suharto*, 72–78.

204. Mietzner, *Military Politics*, 112.

205. Author's interview with a Wiranto associate (Jan. 2007).

206. Hafidz, *Fading Away*, 93.

207. Mietzner's interview with Agus Wirahadikusumah. See Mietzner, *Military Politics*, 112.

208. James Luhulima *Hari-hari Panjang Menjelang Mundurnya Presiden Soeharto*, 156

209. Tatik Hafidz, *Fading Away*, 88.

210. Mietzner's interview with Nurcholish Madjid. Marcus Mietzner, *Military Politics*, 126.

211. Edward Aspinall, "Students and the Military: Regime Friction and Civilian Dissent in the Late Suharto Period," *Indonesia* 59 (Apr. 1995), 36.

212. Arief Budiman, "The Student Movement in Indonesia: A Study of the Relationship between Culture and Structure," *Asian Survey* 18, no. 6 (June 1978), 609–625; Olle Tornquist, "Dynamics of Indonesian Democratization," *Third World Quarterly* 21, no. 3 (2000), 383–423.

213. Mietzner, *Military Politics*, 129.

214. As noted earlier in this chapter, the military abhorred Habibie for meddling arms purchases (e.g. purchase of naval ships), a source of kickbacks for the officers.

215. Hafidz, *Fading Away*, 106; Mietzner, *Military Politics*, 11.

216. Rinakit, *The Indonesian Military after the New Order*, 87–88.

217. B. J. Habibie, *Detik-detik Yang Menentukan: Jalan Panjang Indonesia Menuju Demokrasi* (Indonesia: The Habibie Center Mandiri, 2006), 102.

218. McBeth, "Soldering On"; John Colmey, "Indonesia's Army Helps Habibie Avert a Nascent Coup," *Time*, June 8, 1998; Susan Berfield and Dewi Loveard, "Ten Days that Shook Indonesia," *Asiaweek*, July 27, 1998; "Current Data on the Indonesian Military Elite," *Indonesia* 67 (Apr. 1999), 139.

219. Wiranto, *Witness in the Storm*, preface.

220. Aidul Filtriciada Azhari, *Beraksi di Tengah Badai*, *Dari Catatan Jenderal Purniawirawan Wiranto* (Jakarta: Institute for Democracy of Indonesia, 2003), 55; Hafidz, *Fading Away*, 86–87.

221. Wiranto reportedly tasked the assistant for operations to the armed forces chief of staff for general affairs, Maj. Gen. Johny Lumintang, to lead the oversee this operation, which aimed to counter any military maneuvers Prabowo's troops undertook. Author's interview with a retired foreign defense attaché to Indonesia (Oct. 2005). See also Hafidz, *Fading Away*, 84.

222. "Current Data on the Indonesian Military Elite," *Indonesia* 67 (Apr. 1999), 139. It is widely believed Prabowo never actually took up his new post.

223. Eklof, *Indonesian Politics in Crisis*, 212; Van Dijk, *A Country in Despair*, 207.

224. Mietzner's interview with Wiranto. Mietzner, *Military Politics*, 133.

225. Ibid., 134.

CHAPTER FIVE: Power-sharing Authoritarianism in China and Burma

1. *Tatmadaw* is Burmese for armed forces.

2. Jonathan D. Spence, *The Search for Modern China* (New York: Norton, 1999), 685.

3. Richard Baum, "The Road to Tiananmen: Chinese Politics in the 1980s," in *The Politics of China*, ed. Roderick MacFarquhar (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 437–439.

4. Spence, *Search for Modern China*, 697.

5. Baum, "Road to Tiananmen," 441.

6. Ibid., 442. Zhao Ziyang in his secret journals also notes the effect of April 26 editorial on the students. See *Prisoner of the State: The Secret Journal of Zhao Ziyang*, trans. and ed., Bao Pu et al. (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2009), 10, 12.

7. Baum, "Road to Tiananmen," 443–444.

8. Ibid., 445.
9. Ibid., 450–451.
10. Ibid., 455.
11. "A Document Circulated among Senior Party and Government Officials, April 25, 1989." Cited in *Beijing Spring 1989: Confrontation and Conflict*, ed. Michel Oksenberg et al. (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1990), 203–205.
12. Nicholas D. Kristof, "How the Hardliners Won," *New York Times Magazine*, November 12, 1989.
13. Andrew Scobell, *China's Use of Military Force: Beyond the Great Wall and the Long March* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 147.
14. Excerpts from Party Central Office Secretariat, "Minutes of the May 17, 1989, Politburo Standing Committee Meeting." Cited in Perry Link and Andrew Nathan, *The Tiananmen Papers* (New York: Public Affairs, 2001), 189.
15. Link and Nathan, *Tiananmen Papers*, 212; Scobell, *China's Use of Military Force*, 179.
16. Link and Nathan, *Tiananmen Papers*, 213, 239–240; Chien-Wen Kou, "Why the Military Obeys the Party's Orders to Repress Popular Uprisings: The Chinese Military Crackdown of 1989," *Issues and Studies* 36, no. 6 (Nov.–Dec. 2000), 39–41.
17. Kou, "Why the Military Obeys the Party's Orders," 39–40.
18. Ibid., 39.
19. Jonathan Mirsky, Clare Hollingworth et al., *China in Crisis: The Role of the Military* (Coulsdon, UK: Jane's Defense Data, 1989), 13.
20. Link and Nathan, *Tiananmen Papers*, 264–265; Kou, "Why the Military Obeys the Party's Orders," 39; Andrew Scobell, "Why the People's Army Fired on the People: The Chinese Military and Tiananmen," *Armed Forces and Society* 18, no. 2 (winter 1992), 200.
21. Scobell, *China's Use of Military Force*, 150.
22. Excerpts from Party Central Office Secretariat, "Minutes of Important Meeting June 2, 1989." Cited in Link and Nathan, *Tiananmen Papers*, 357.
23. Central Intelligence Agency, Directorate of Intelligence, "The Road to the Tiananmen Crackdown: An Analytic Chronology of Chinese Leadership Decision Making," September 1989, in *The U.S. "Tiananmen Papers": National Security Archive Electronic Briefing Book*, ed. Michael L. Evans (Washington, DC: The National Security Archive, 2001), 13–14.
24. Mirsky, Hollingworth et al., *China in Crisis*, 22–23; Scobell, *China's Use of Military Force*, 157.
25. Scobell, "Why the People's Army Fired on the People," 201; Timothy Brook, *Quelling the People: The Military Suppression of the Beijing Democracy Movement* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), chapter 5; Link and Nathan, *Tiananmen Papers*, 365–391.
26. Scobell, *China's Use of Military Force*, 159; Link and Nathan, *Tiananmen Papers*, 372, 389–391; Ellis Joffe, "The PLA and the Massacre in Tiananmen Square," in *PLA and the Tiananmen Crisis*, ed. Richard H. Yang (Kaohsiung, Taiwan: Sun Yat-Sen Center for Policy Studies, National Sun Yat-Sen University 1989), 17–18.
27. Oksenberg et. al., eds., *Beijing Spring 1989*, 378–379.
28. The phrase "Saffron Revolt" is often used as the Buddhist monks, who were at the forefront of the demonstrations and wore saffron-colored robes.
29. The NLD is the main opposition, which won a landslide victory in the 1990 elections that the military junta failed to honor. The '88 Generation students is a group named after student activists in the 1988 uprising.
30. Ardeth Maung Thawnghmung and Maung Aung Myoe, "Myanmar in 2007: A Turning Point in the 'Roadmap,'" *Asian Survey* 48, no. 1 (Jan.–Feb. 2008), 13–14.

31. Stephen McCarthy, "Losing My Religion? Protest and Legitimacy in Burma," *Griffith Asia Institute Regional Outlook Paper*, no. 18 (2008), 9.

32. Simon Shen and Paul Chi-yuen Chan, "Failure of the Saffron Revolution and Aftermath: Revisiting the Transitologist Assumption," *Journal of Comparative Asian Development* 9, no. 1 (June 2010), 33–34.

33. McCarthy, "Losing My Religion?" 10; Human Rights Watch, "Crackdown: Repression of Popular Protests in Burma," 19, no. 18 (Dec. 2007), 7.

34. McCarthy, "Losing My Religion?" 10; Human Rights Watch, "Crackdown," 8.

35. McCarthy, "Losing My Religion?" 11; Human Rights Watch, "Crackdown," 8–9.

36. Human Rights Watch, "Crackdown," 9.

37. Ibid., 9–10.

38. Then university students joined by citizens from all walks of life, demonstrated against economic mismanagement under the regime of Gen. Ne Win. The uprising ended on September 18 when the armed forces fired on the protestors following their seizure of power in a bloody military coup. The coup of September 18 led to the establishment of the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC).

39. This chapter considers the developments within the Burmese military prior to 2007 and does not examine the liberalization in the country following the 2010 elections and the subsequent disbanding of the SPDC. For recent analyses on the changes that have occurred in Burma, see Mary Callahan, "The Generals Loosen Their Grip," *Journal of Democracy* 23, no. 4 (Oct. 2012), 120–131; Min Zin and Brian Joseph, "The Democrats' Opportunity," *Journal of Democracy* 23, no. 4 (Oct. 2012), 104–119.

40. See, for example, Win Min, "Looking inside the Burmese Military," *Asian Survey* 48, no. 6 (Nov.–Dec. 2008), 1018–1037; Andrew Marshall, "The Soldier and the State," *Time*, October 19, 2009, 16–19.

41. Quote from Priscilla Clapp, former US embassy official in Burma. See "Myanmar Writhes in the Grip of its Junta," *New York Times*, September 26, 2008.

42. Kenneth Lieberthal, *Governing China: From Revolution Through Reform* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1995).

43. Ibid., 158.

44. The Party Congress elects the membership of the Party's Central Committee. The Central Committee in turn elects the members of the Politburo, the Standing Committee of the Politburo, the Secretariat, and the Party's General Secretary.

45. "Constitution of the Communist Party of China," *Beijing Review* 25, no. 38 (September 20, 1982), 8–21.

46. Yan Jiaqi, "The Nature of Chinese Authoritarianism," in *Decision-Making in China*, ed. Carol Lee Hamrin and Suisheng Zhao (Armonk, NY: ME Sharpe, 1995), 3.

47. See Roderick MacFarquhar, *The Politics of China: The Eras of Mao and Deng* (New York: Cambridge University Press 1997); and Roderick MacFarquhar and Michael Schoenhals, *Mao's Last Revolution* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006).

48. Cited in MacFarquhar and Schoenhals, *Mao's Last Revolution*, 458.

49. Baum, "Road to Tiananmen," 348.

50. Alice L. Miller, "Institutionalization and the Changing Dynamics of Chinese Leadership Politics," in *China's Changing Political Landscape*, ed. Cheng Li (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press), 62.

51. H. Lyman Miller, "Hu Jintao and the Party Politburo," *China Leadership Monitor* 9 (winter 2004), 1–8; Miller, "Institutionalization and the Changing Dynamics," 67.

52. Miller, "Institutionalization and the Changing Dynamics," 64–66.

53. Ibid., 62; MacFarquhar and Schoenhals, *Mao's Last Revolution*, 296–301.

54. David Shambaugh, "Deng Xiaoping: The Politician," *China Quarterly* 135 (Sept. 1993), 479.

55. Lieberthal, *Governing China*, 185–186.

56. Cited in Zheng Yongnian, *The Chinese Communist Party as Organizational Emperor: Culture, Reproduction, and Transformation* (London: Routledge, 2010), 102.

57. Juan J. Linz and Alfred C. Stepan, *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation* (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press, 1996), 67.

58. Andrew Selth, *Burma's Armed Forces: Power without Glory* (Norwalk, CT: Eastbridge Books, 2002), 51.

59. Ibid., 59.

60. Ibid.

61. Bruce Matthews, "The Present Fortune of Tradition-Bound Authoritarianism in Myanmar," *Asian Survey* 71, no. 1 (spring 1998), 13.

62. Selth, *Burma's Armed Forces*, 51–52.

63. Avery Goldstein, *From Bandwagon to Balance-of-Power: Structural Constraints and Politics in China, 1949–1978* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1991), 64.

64. Andrew Nathan, "China's Changing of the Guard: Authoritarian Resilience," *Journal of Democracy* 14, no. 1 (Jan. 2003), 1–13; Xiaowei Zang, 'Institutionalization and Elite Behavior in Reform China," *Issues and Studies* 41, no. 1 (Mar. 2005), 204–217; Bo Zhiyue, *China's Elite Politics: Political Transition and Power Balancing* (Singapore: World Scientific Publishing, 2007).

65. See Pierre F. Landry, *Decentralized Authoritarianism in China: The Communist Party's Control of Local Elites in the Post-Mao Era* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008); David Shambaugh, *China's Communist Party: Atrophy and Adaptation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009).

66. See Frank N. Pieke, *The Good Communist: Elite Training and State Building in Today's China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 28–32. Pieke also notes that national cadres and cadre posts have a specific level/rank (*zhiwu* = "post") that mirrors the ranks given to all party and state institutions in Chinese society. A cadre's rank determines the level of positions he/she can occupy—a deputy office level (*fuchuji*) cadre can only be the deputy head of a county or an office (*chu*) level organization/department. Cadres must have a specific grade to be in a post of a particular rank. For instance, the head of a ministry has to be a grade 3 or 4 cadre; the head of a county has to be between grade 7 and 10.

67. Michael D. Swaine, *The Military* and *Political Succession in China: Leadership, Institutions, Beliefs* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 1992), 5.

68. Jeremy Paltiel, "PLA Allegiance on Parade: Civil-Military Relations in Transition," *China Quarterly* 143 (Sept. 1995), 786.

69. James Mulvenon, "China: Conditional Compliance," in *Coercion and Governance: The Declining Political Role of the Military in Asia*, ed. Muthiah Alagappa (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), 321.

70. David Shambaugh, "The Pinnacle of the Pyramid: The Central Military Commission," in *The People's Liberation Army as Organization*, ed. James C. Mulvenon and Andrew N.D. Yang (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2002), 103.

71. According to Article 94 of the PRC Constitution, the chairman of the CMC is "responsible to" the national legislature and its Standing Committee. And through Article 67, the Standing Committee is also charged with "supervising the work of the CMC."

72. David Shambaugh, "The Soldier and the State in China: The Political Work System in the People's Liberation Army," *China Quarterly* 127 (Sept. 1991), 546–547.

73. Michael D. Swaine, "The PLA and Chinese National Security Policy: Leaderships, Structure, Processes," *China Quarterly* 146 (June 1996), 383–384.

74. Samuel P. Huntington, *The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1957).

75. Amos Perlmutter and William M. LeoGrande, "The Party in Uniform: Toward a Theory of Civil-Military Relations in Communist Political System," *American Political Science Review* 76, no. 4 (Dec. 1982), 781.

76. Ibid., 778.

77. Ellis Joffe, "Party-Army Relations in China: Retrospect and Prospect," *China Quarterly* 146 (June 1996), 300–301.

78. Zheng Shiping, *Party vs. State in Post-1949 China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 111.

79. Perlmutter and LeoGrande, "The Party in Uniform," 779.

80. The seven states are Kachin, Kayah, Kayin, Chin, Mon, Rakhine, Shan; and the seven divisions are Yangon, Mandalay, Ayeyarwaddy, Sagaing, Magway, Bago, Tanintharyi.

81. Mary P. Callahan, "Cracks in the Edifice? Military-Society Relations in Burma since 1988," in *Burma-Myanmar: Strong Regime, Weak State*, ed. Morten B. Pedersen et al. (Adelaide: Crawford House, 2000), 27.

82. The BSSP was formed by the military regime under Ne Win after they seized political power in 1962. The BSSP was the sole political party allowed to exist legally in Burma during military rule from 1964 until its demise in the aftermath of the popular uprising of 1988.

83. Selth, *Burma's Armed Forces*, 55.

84. Mary P. Callahan, *Political Authority in Burma's Ethnic Minority States* (Washington, DC: East-West Center, 2007), 6–7.

85. Neil A. Englehart, "Is Regime Change Enough for Burma? The Problem of State Capacity," *Asian Survey* 45, no. 4 (July–Aug. 2005), 638–639.

86. Ardeth Maung Thawnghmung, "Paddy Farmers and the State: Agricultural Policies and Legitimacy in Rural Myanmar" (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2001), 165.

87. Englehart, "Is Regime Change Enough for Burma?" 638–639.

88. Callahan, "Cracks in the Edifice?" 47.

89. Susanne Prager Nyein, "Expanding Military, Shrinking Citizenry, and the New Constitution in Burma," *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 39, no. 4 (Nov. 2009), 642.

90. Mary P. Callahan, "Of *kyay-zu* and *kyet-su*: The Military in 2006," in *Myanmar: The State, Community, and the Environment*, ed. Monique Skidmore and Trevor Wilson (Canberra: ANU E Press, 2007), 40–41.

91. Ibid., 44–45.

92. Ibid., 43.

93. Roderik MacFarquhar, "The Succession to Mao and the End of Maoism, 1969–82," in *Politics of China 1949–1989: Eras of Mao and Deng*, ed. Roderick MacFarquhar (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 328.

94. Baum, "Road to Tiananmen," 349–351.

95. Ibid., 349–351; Miller, "Institutionalization and the Changing Dynamics," 463.

96. Melanie Manion, "Politics and Policy in Post-Mao Cadre Retirement," *China Quarterly* 129 (1992), 2–3.

97. Minxin Pei, "China's Evolution toward Soft Authoritarianism," in *What If China Doesn't Democratize: Implications for War and Peace*, ed. Edward Friedman and Barrett L. McCormic (Armonk, NY: ME Sharpe, 2000), 80.

98. Lucian Pye, "An Introductory Profile: Deng Xiaoping and China's Political Culture," *China Quarterly* 135 (Sept. 1993), 424. Shambaugh, "Deng Xiaoping," 475.

99. Susan L. Shirk, *The Political Logic of Economic Reform in China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 72.

100. Ibid., chapter 4.

101. Linz and Stepan, *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation*, 47.

102. Kyaw Yin Hlaing, "Setting the Rules for Survival," *Pacific Review* 22, no. 3 (July 2009), 280.

103. It has been suggested that intramilitary tensions over promotions exist between the graduates of the country's two main military schools, the Defense Services Academy (DSA) and the Officers' Training School (OTS). However, the shortage of military officers to manage the expanded armed forces since the 1988 coup has helped overcome this problem. Than Shwe, who came from the OTS, has suggested that the Tatmadaw must recruit both OTS and DSA graduates. See Win Min, "Looking inside the Burmese Military," 1033; and Andrew Selth, "Can Burma's Military Regime Survive," *Australian Quarterly* 68, no. 3 (spring 1996), 59–67.

104. Kyaw Yin Hlaing, "Setting the Rules for Survival," 286.

105. David C. Williams, "Cracks in the Firmament of Burma's Military Government: From Unity through Coercion to Buying Support," *Third World Quarterly* 32, no. 7 (2011), 1208.

106. Kyaw Yin Hlaing, "Setting the Rules for Survival," 277.

107. Ibid., 279–280.

108. Ibid., 274.

109. Kyaw Yin Hlaing's interview with a retired senior government official in "Setting the Rules for Survival," 285.

110. The PBSC consisted of Li Peng, Hu Qili, Qiao Shi, Yao Yilin, and Zhao Ziyang.

111. Link and Nathan, *Tiananmen Papers*, 211–212, 368, 370.

112. Larry M. Wortzel, "The Tiananmen Massacre Reappraised: Public Protest, Urban Warfare, and the People's Liberation Army," in *Chinese National Security Decision Making under Stress*, ed. Andrew Scobell and Larry M. Wortzel (Carlisle, PA: US Army War College, Strategic Studies Institute, 2005), 60.

113. Wortzel, "The Tiananmen Massacre Reappraised," 61.

114. Link and Nathan, *Tiananmen Papers*, 149.

115. Ibid., 150.

116. Excerpts from Party Central Office Secretariat, "Minutes of an Important Meeting on May 18, 1989." Cited in Link and Nathan, *Tiananmen Papers*, 205–206.

117. Ibid., 193.

118. This quote is paraphrased from Barbara Geddes, *Paradigms and Sand Castles: Theory Building and Research Design in Comparative Politics* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003), 59.

119. Excerpts from Party Central Office Secretariat, "Minutes of an Important Meeting on May 18, 1989." Cited in Perry Link and Andrew Nathan, *Tiananmen Papers*, 204.

120. Link and Nathan, *Tiananmen Papers*, 193.

121. Ibid., 268.

122. "Main Points of Yang Shangkun's Speech at Emergency Enlarged Meeting of the Central Military Commission." Cited in Oksenberg et. al., eds., *Beijing Spring* 1989, 321–323. See also Link and Nathan, *Tiananmen Papers*, 268–269.

123. Baum, "Road to Tiananmen," 454.

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